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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

IN SOUTH LEBANON

Hallusiyeh Under Siege, Youth Killed in Israeli Hit-Back

Special to *Al Fajr*

ROME, JANUARY 23: Battles rage on all fronts in Lebanon from Iqlim al-Kharrub to Suq al-Gharb (where in the night between Monday and Tuesday regular Lebanese army troops who penetrated into the area with lists of persons to arrest were chased away from Wadi Abu Jamil after a battle until dawn with the population, mainly refugees from the south). In occupied south Lebanon resistance actions continued to average four to five a day and mass civilian opposition to the occupation continues on an explosively high level. The Israeli army has put the village of Hallusiyeh under siege following a battle with local residents resisting the arrest of their religious leader.

On Tuesday January 17, a general strike was observed throughout the occupied area in response to the occupation forces' brutal imposition, the previous day, of a "mourning curfew" during the funeral of puppet Sa'ad Haddad. In Sidon and all other towns and villages mass protest meetings were held in the mosques and Haddad's reputation as the murderer of dozens of civilians in the village of Khiam in 1978 and of hundreds of others elsewhere throughout the south was recalled.

January 23, south Lebanon was in a state of full insurrection. As we write, anti-occupation demonstrations are raging in a large number of towns and villages following the arrest of Shi'ite spiritual leader Sheikh Abbass Harb and his transfer by helicopter to an unknown destination.

According to a reconstruction of the events published this morning by *Al Nahar* and *Al Safir* and based on eyewitnesses reports on Saturday, January 21, two Israeli vehicles with occupation officers penetrated the village of Hallusiyeh, in the Tyre area, and stopped in front of the home of Sheikh Harb. The officers then subjected the religious leader to an interrogation in his home and at the end told him that he was under arrest and attempted to take him away by force. The entire population of the village, who had meanwhile assembled around the sheikh's home, revolted, besieging the officers, throwing stones at them and erecting barricades across the streets. The officers then beat a retreat, leaving their prey behind.

A few hours later, a military convoy made up of tanks, armoured cars and troop carriers attacked the village, while helicopters flew low overhead. The population of Hallusiyeh engaged in a long and massive battle with the military who used gas and smoke rockets as well as fire arms. During the clashes, a unit of the occupation forces assaulted Sheikh Harb's house and arrested him, his two brothers and four other village inhabitants, took them away and forced them to board a helicopter which landed nearby. The rest of the population barricaded themselves in the mosque from where they called out anti-Israeli slogans until the troops withdrew from the village, leaving, however, a garrison to continue the siege. The occupation force also cut the telephone lines of Hallusiyeh and all the other villages in the area.

Sunday, January 22, a force of about 1000 soldiers arrived to reinforce the siege on Hallusiyeh, where 10 other persons were arrested. The nearby villages of al-Homeira and Tarafelsiyah were also placed under siege. Occupation spokespersons declared that Hallusiyeh served as a departure base for a resistance commando which last week attacked a patrol, killing two of its men (as usual, after the attack, the occupation authorities denied that losses were suffered). The spokespersons added that "the siege may last a week or a month, in any case until the village will be completely disarmed and all attacks will cease."

The same procedure was used last May against the village of Deir Qanun which was subjected to a 12-day siege. Like Deir Qanun, Hallusiyeh, al-Homeira and Tarafelsiyah are — in theory — subjected to the tutelage and protection of UNIFIL.

News of the events in Hallusiyeh and the neighbouring villages brought about a vast and

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This six-metre-high relief, created by West Bank artists Suleiman Mansour and Nabil Anani, was installed over the entrance of *Inash al-Usra's* new building for orphans to be dedicated this spring. The poured aluminium sculpture, which weighs 900 kilogrammes, took two months to be designed and cast. It took six men to reassemble the 25-piece sculpture and afix it with copper pins to the al-Bireh building.

The relief, entitled "The New Generation," was adapted from a design artist Mansour first created for International Women's Day, 1981, in *Al Fajr* English. The woman's dress bodice is *khamseh qmar* with *hizam* in typical al-Bireh style. On the sun is inscribed eight times *al-mulk lillah* (All property is God's).

The mold was carved from styrofoam and then aluminium was heated and poured into a sand and iron frame.

National Conference Disowns 'Representation' by Jordan

Representatives of 31 mass and national institutions from the West Bank and Gaza Strip conferred at Bir Zeit University, January 23, and issued a statement strongly rejecting Jordan's recent parliamentary moves as a circumvention of the achievements of the PLO. Over 1000 people attended representing virtually all levels of Palestinian organisation in the occupied territories: voluntary work committees, workers' and professional unions, women's committees, universities, vocational and secondary school student councils and blocs, writers and artists federations, journalists and youth committees in towns, villages and camps signed the statement which called for boycotting the Jordanian parliament conspiracy to "represent" the West Bank.

The statement reiterated six positions: the firm and decisive stand against the Jordanian parliament conspiracy; the PLO as the sole legitimate representative and the commander of the struggle of all Palestinians wherever they may be; no alternative goals to the right of return, self-determination and the establishment of the Palestinian state; the unity of all PLO factions in the occupied territories within the national front; and silence from all brokers of Black September in the occupied land.

The national institutions' statement countered claims by the Jordanian regime which described the occupied territories as being in a "political vacuum" and needing to be "filled" by Jordanian representatives. The Palestinian institutions flatly denied that Jordan has any legal responsibility for the West Bank.

The statement reads:

"The new Jordanian parliament conspirary is only one ring in a series of conspiracies against our people and cause. The reactivation of the Jordanian parliament has strong ties to the Camp David accords and Reagan plan, attempting to pressure the PLO to hand over the mandate to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. Our Palestine National Council's resolutions last year rejected this step."

Four days before the general assembly the Teachers and Employees Union at BZU issued a similar statement rejecting the Jordanian parliament move. On the same day Bir Zeit University student blocs held a seminar on the Jordanian move during which representatives sharply criticised the Jordanian attempts to "represent" the West Bank. Four hundred students attended the forum.

STOP PRESS

Western diplomatic sources report that the Lebanese army is preparing for a massive offensive against Shi'ite-held areas in south Beirut.

UNRWA Closes Teachers Centres

The Ramallah Women Teachers Training Centre (RWTTC) and the Ramallah Men Teachers Training Centre (RMTTC) were closed, January 20, for eight days by Roy Skinner, UNRWA's director of operations in the West Bank. The closure came as students escalated their protests against the imposition of Jordan's comprehensive exam.

Skinner announced the closure in a letter to the editors of Palestinian newspapers and said any attempt by trainees to enter the centres is "unauthorised." Skinner further threatened that UNRWA may be forced to defer opening the training centres beyond January 28 if the trainees

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LNSF Pledges Resistance Until Gemayel Resigns, MNF Leaves

by Livia Rokach

To the US attempt to impose on Lebanon an unacceptable choice between a fascist dictatorship and the partition of the country, the Lebanese National Salvation Front responds by calling for the immediate resignation of the Gemayel regime, pending inevitable destruction of the country in the intensifying civil war. To US Secretary of State George Shultz's hysterical threats of American air strikes in Lebanon on the pretext of "the need to pre-empt attacks on the US forces by Iranian *kamikaze* mini-airplanes," the Lebanese patriotic forces respond by repeating their demand for an immediate evacuation of the Multi-National Forces from Beirut and assuring that despite the enormous imbalance of the forces, they possess "the will and the means to resist every attack at any time." This, substantially, is the sense of the statements made, January 22, by LNSF leader Walid Jumblatt, while the second round of the fourth Lebanese war and the second civil war entered its fourth week.

The first round of the fighting in August-September was characterised as a highly mobile war, with the resistance forces on the offensive and out to liberate vast areas until then under Phalangist control. In contrast this second round bears mainly the characteristics of a war of attrition between the Lebanese patriotic forces and the US-and-French-trained and guided regular army, with the Phalangist militias employed by the latter as provocateurs, and with the US Marine forces deployed in Khalde and Beit Meri often intervening in support of the Gemayel troops.

But through the past week, as it became clear that the heavy shelling of the mountain areas by Gemayel's army was directed primarily at the civilian populations in these areas — schools and hospitals were damaged, villages set on fire, and at least 50 civilians killed, most of them children and elderly persons — the strategy of the Druze-led resistance response has become more precise. By directing fire at targets constituting symbols of the Phalangist power, such as Sin al-Fil neighbourhood, where Amin Gemayel's private residence is located, Ba'abda, where the presidential palace took direct hits and an entire wing crumbled, Ashrafiyah and Qarantina where the Phalangist party headquarters and barracks are located, as well as the Phalangist mini-state capital of Junieh, the Lebanese resistance is underscoring the political goals of the attacks: to hit the vital organs of the Beirut regime, demoralise its supporters and bring about its fall. It is against this background that the population has been warned by the resistance forces to stay away from all public buildings which may be subject to attack.

There is no doubt that this strategy has been having its effects. The regime, no less than the population of the Phalangist mini-state, is panicking. It unceasingly invokes more help from NATO powers, especially from the US and France. It is within this framework that the fantastic inventions of *kamikaze* planes and the like are being fed by the Phalangists and their "reliable" historical protectors to the US administration. The goal is to bring about at any cost a direct American and possibly French military intervention to save the Gemayel regime from complete disintegration which is well in sight.

A frenetic race against time is taking place on both sides. In this race, heavy weapons are not the only ones to be employed. On the part of the resistance, with Syrian backing, pressures are exerted for the abrogation of the May 17, 1983 Lebanese-Israeli accord, a basic condition for any further step in the direction of the liberation of Lebanon from both foreign and domestic oppression. The Phalangist power, being reluctant to accept this condition, makes recourse to the old and well-known methods of state terror. There is, in fact, ample consensus in Beirut that both the kidnapping of Saudi diplomat Hussein Abdallah Farrash on January 17 and the assassination of American University President Malcolm Kerr were the work of the Phalangist-directed Lebanese intelligence and the "Lebanese Forces" services.

The first operation, which seems to be a direct continuation of similar actions carried out through the months preceding the June 1982 Israeli invasion, is considered to have two parallel goals: as in the 1982 phase, to press all foreign governments to shift their diplomatic representations from "unsafe" West Beirut to "secure" neighbourhoods in East Beirut, so as to accredit the Phalangist-controlled area with being the "real" capital, possibly also in view of a future partition. The second goal, which is directed to have more immediate effect and is connected to the national identity of the abducted diplomat, is that of creating divisions and serious friction between Sunnis, who in one way or another are linked to Saudi Arabia, and Shi'ites, in Beirut. In fact, the abduction is only the latest and most spectacular event in a constant operation of intrigue-making and trouble-shooting fomented by the Phalangist power to this end.

The assassination of AUB president Malcolm Kerr, too, has been officially attributed by both Amal leader Nabih Berri and LNSF leader Walid Jumblatt to "the authors of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila." Kerr was indeed a controversial figure, best

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UNRWA Chief Denounces Upsurge in Anti-Palestinian Violence

by Livia Rokach

January 22: "In the past two months a marked increase of arrests, kidnappings, assassinations, injuries and disappearances of Palestinian refugees has occurred in the Palestinian camps in South Lebanon and in Beirut." The denunciation was made yesterday in Beirut by UNRWA's general commissioner, Olof Rydbeck.

In what can and should be considered by humanitarian organisations and public opinion at large an authentic cry of alarm over the fate of the Palestinian populations in Lebanon, Rydbeck expressed "deep concern" in regard to the "violent incidents" which are being provoked in the refugee camps. He called on the Israeli occupation authorities and the Gemayel regime to "do everything that is in their power to protect the lives of the civilians."

According to UNRWA figures, in the past two months 11 Palestinians have been assassinated, 10 seriously injured, seven have disappeared and 26 were subject to attempts of physical aggression or shootings, although without fatal consequences, in the south and in Beirut. Reliable sources in Beirut consider the actual numbers to be much higher, however. They point out that the over 200 Palestinian civilians arbitrarily arrested by the Gemayel army between Christmas Eve and December 31 and dragged away to unknown destinations are excluded from the UNRWA statistics. The Italian government protested the arrests which took place in the Sabra and Shatila sectors under the control of the Italian MNF contingent whose commander, General Franco Angioni, was charged with following up the cases of those arrested until their release. But for the time being no positive results have been registered, due also to the lack of any pressure from another government or organisation. Moreover, many of the kidnappings carried out by the Lebanese army have been executed in the formerly French-controlled sectors of the camps, now under the exclusive control of Gemayel's troops.

In a related development, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti said on Friday, January 20, following his meeting in Stockholm with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, that Moscow may now accept that UN forces replace the MNF contingents in Beirut with the specific goal of protecting the civilian populations, mainly the Palestinian camps. Yesterday, after hearing a report on the gradual withdrawal of the Italian troops currently underway (the evacuation of 620 more troops has started this week and is expected to be completed by the first week in February), the Rome government reaffirmed that the remaining force — about 1000 including the personnel of the field hospital in Sabra-Shatila and logistic services — will deal exclusively with the protection of the Palestinian camps and will not be placed at the service of the Gemayel government for any other purposes or in other sectors of Beirut. The task of protecting the camps (or rather the sectors of the camps where it was originally deployed) will be handed over by the Italian contingent only to a UN force, the government communique said.

Meanwhile, the International Federation of Human Rights issued a report compiled by its fact-finding mission in Lebanon which recently conducted a three weeks research in that country. According to the report, "about 1000 Lebanese and some 500 Palestinians have disappeared in Lebanon since June 1982" — again a ridiculously low figure when one considers that at least 1200 Palestinians and Lebanese were abducted by the "Lebanese Forces" from Sabra and Shatila alone during and after the massacres and before the arrival in Beirut of the MNF contingents on October 1, 1982. The IFHR report also states that "the testimonies collected from the few persons who have been released confirm the systematic use of torture, especially in detention camps controlled by the 'Lebanese Forces.' " The International Federation of Human Rights expresses its "deep concern" in view of these facts.

In a broadcast dedicated to Ansar, the Lebanese official radio yesterday confirmed the news we reported two weeks ago that the occupation authorities in south Lebanon have reactivated the notorious prison camp. Witnesses interviewed in the broadcast said more than 800 Lebanese and Palestinians, some of them former inmates, are now imprisoned in Ansar.

Lebanon Strikes, Protests Search-and-Arrests Follow

Military operations against Israeli targets in south Lebanon rose to a new level this week. According to Lebanese and foreign reports attacks now average five a day. Israeli troops, on the other hand, are increasing their repressive measures in an effort to minimise casualties.

An Israeli soldier who was wounded in an ambush south of the Zahrani river in south Lebanon, last week, died in hospital, January 18. There were also reports of the funeral of another soldier, January 24, but with no indication of where he died. The army spokesperson would add no details to the published stories. The official Israeli death toll in Lebanon since June 1982 is now 566, the Israeli military spokesperson told *Al Fajr*, January 24.

The British *Reuters* news agency reported, January 19, that residents rushed for cover after Israeli troops drove along Sidon's Riad Solh Street, the main street in the city, firing in the air following three bomb explosions in the city. No casualty report was given.

Earlier in the week, strikes and protests prevailed in south Lebanon in protest of the Israeli repressive measures which were being implemented to counter the growing military attacks. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, Israeli troops uprooted orchards from which attacks were launched. Moreover, Israeli troops have been carrying out systematic search and arrest campaigns in south Lebanese villages and refugee camps. In addition to the detention of two religious leaders (see story page 1), Israeli troops raided Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp east of Sidon, January 22, and arrested a number of residents. *Al Ittihad*, quoting *Agence France Presse*, said that Israeli troops surrounded the camp with tanks and armoured carriers shortly after the bodies of two soldiers were discovered.

Despite the repression, resistance forces continued to hit Israeli targets in Lebanon. According to a report broadcast by the Voice of Arab Lebanon radio station, a group of nationalist fighters rocket attacked an Israeli radar station in the Nabi Safi area. The radio report said that the attack resulted in damage to the station, killing and wounding a number of soldiers.

Al Ittihad also quoted the Voice of Palestine saying resistance forces carried out two military attacks, January 23: one against a group of soldiers in Sidon and the second against an Israeli patrol east of Tyre. Several Israeli soldiers were hurt in the two attacks, the radio reported.

Accumulated reports from the Israeli English language daily *The Jerusalem Post*, throughout the past week, showed that at least eight military attacks had taken place against the Israeli army. *The Post* claimed that only one soldier was wounded, January 21, when an Israeli outpost near the village of Tibnin came under attack from a speeding car. According to the report, small arms fire was directed at the position, wounding the soldier. A grenade was also thrown from the car.

Unknown West Bankers Appointed Jordan's Reps

The Jordanian House of Representatives appointed seven West Bank men January 18 to replace deceased or retired parliamentarians from the occupied area. Parliamentary elections to fill eight vacant seats for the Jordanian side are expected to be held in the near future.

The new MP's were chosen in an inter-parliamentary vote in accordance with the constitutional amendment passed by the parliament early this month. The balloting was carried out by separate voting for the representatives of every district.

The elected MP's, like their colleagues, are known for their close relationship with the Jordanian government. Among those was Dr Musa Abu Ghosh, from Ramallah, who was one of the participants in the Ramallah conference in 1950 which approved the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan.

Mohammed Ahmad Dhwaiyeb, from the village of Za'atara, near Bethlehem, replaced his father. He was reported to have been elected because of his traditional tribal background.

Daoud Mohammed Suleiman Daoud, a Jerusalem-born engineer and long-time resident of Amman, was elected to replace Kamel Arakat, former speaker of the house of representatives, who resigned because of old age. The rest were elected to replace deceased MP's. Other representatives elected were Ziad Mohammed Yunis for the Tulkarm area and Fayad Fawzi Jarrar and Ma'rouf Salim Rabba' to represent the Jenin area.

The seven new men are unknown quantities. None of them have political experience and they have not been active in local affairs.

Najah Students Strike After Admin. Penalises Meetings

Najah University Student Council called for students to suspend their studies from January 21 until further notice to protest academic sanctions against students who the administration said participated in unauthorised meetings.

Twelve students, including four members of the student council, had six credit hours removed from their academic files, January 21. There were student meetings on campus January 14 and 15. The first was organised by members of the Islamic bloc, the second by nationalists.

The students also issued a statement demanding: the cancellation of sanctions imposed on the 12 students; changes in the university constitution regarding academic sanctions; and employing qualified teachers available in the occupied territories to replace those who signed the work permit.

Sa'eb Iriqat, the university's public relations officer, told *Al Fajr* that most of the troubles manifested at local universities, including Najah, occur because of the "absence of appropriate channels between the university administrations and the student councils."

Dheisheh Destruction Threat Withdrawn

Israeli authorities retracted threats made by Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens to demolish houses in Dheisheh refugee camp, which overlooks the main Bethlehem-Hebron road.

The deputy attorney general of the Israeli government R. Yarak notified lawyers Amnon Zichroni and Jonathan Kuttab, representing the Dheisheh residents, about the government's decision, January 18. Yarak said, "The problem of stoning Israeli vehicles will be solved by opening a side road away from the camp." Yarak added that the Israeli government would provide the High Court with an official undertaking, January 24, when an appeal by Dheisheh residents is scheduled to be heard.

Lawyers asked for an order *nisi* to prevent the Israeli government from demolishing the line of houses.

On a visit to Dheisheh camp, December 27, Arens threatened the military authorities would demolish houses overlooking the main road if stoning of passing Israeli vehicles continued.

Dheisheh camp residents saw his remarks as a pretext for the execution of the plan of Mordechai Ben Porat, Israeli minister without portfolio, to destroy the West Bank's camps and permanently resettle refugees.

Thirty Dheisheh residents were summoned before Military Governor Albert Behar, January 12, and were told to form a Village League-style local committee to liaise with the authorities.

In the meeting Behar mentioned the local residents' complaint to the High Court. One person who attended it called Behar a "liberal" because he said that the court's decision would be accepted and respected.

Mayor Hamdallah Held for Further Week; No Chages

"Wahid Hamdallah, 52, the elected mayor of Anabta dismissed by the Israelis in the spring of 1982, was remanded for another seven days, January 22. No evidence was presented.

"Hamdallah was arrested, January 5, for alleged involvement in the murder of a local land dealer. No formal charge was made against him. His three remands have been on the basis of a secret file presented to the military judges.

"His lawyer Felicia Langer stated that in attempting to renew his detention, the police looked for a military court judge. Since all the military judges in Tulkarm are on vacation the police went to the home of a 'military judge' in Ramat HaSharon (a Tel Aviv suburb) who agreed to renew his detention.

"Hamdallah was taken on the evening of January 22 to Ramat HaSharon where a military reserve judge lives.

"The reserve judge declared his house a 'military court in Tulkarm' and rejected Langer's question regarding the court's legality. The military prosecutor asked for an extension of Hamdallah's detention for 30 days.

"Hamdallah denied any involvement in the murder and called his continued detention 'political revenge' for his nationalist views.

"The reserve judge agreed to remand Hamdallah for seven days because the police have 'serious charges' against him. The judge recommended that his detention not be renewed if the police are unable to prove their charges." (Translation: Al Ittihad, January 23, 1984).

Military Ordered to Explain Destruction

JERUSALEM — A Haris villager whose home was destroyed by Israeli military authorities last June is seeking a court-ordered explanation. The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi*, January 10, obliging the West Bank military commander and the head of the West Bank 'civil administration' to explain within 45 days why they destroyed the licensed house of Mohammed Abd al-Halim Daoud, from Haris village in the Tulkarm district.

According to the order *nisi*, the West Bank military commander and the head of the 'civil administration' must answer why they did not start an investigation concerning the demolition of his licensed house, why Mohammed Daoud was not compensated for damages, and why they do not permit him to rebuild his licensed house in accordance with the permit he received.

The Israeli authorities demolished the two-floor 148-square metre building on June 16, 1983. Daoud had been given a license in January 1983 by the regional zoning committee. The license was reconfirmed by the same committee November 10, 1983.

Nazareth advocate Walid Fahoum said he took out the order *nisi* after a letter of complaint written two days after the demolition and two subsequent memoranda evinced no answer.

Aida Youths Jailed for Molotovs

Six youngsters from Aida refugee camp, near Bethlehem, were sentenced to between five and nine years imprisonment, January 19, in a Ramallah military court on charges of throwing Molotovs at Israeli vehicles in the outskirts of Bethlehem.

The young men, aged between 15 and 19, were accused of involvement in 11 Molotov-throwing incidents during August, September and October 1983. According to the military prosecutor they attacked military patrol vehicles and personnel carriers in the Tantour area, near Bethlehem.

Lawyer Mohammed Na'amneh, who represented Issa Barmil, 19, told *Al Fajr* his client received six years in jail and he called the sentence "unusually harsh." Commenting on the trial, advocate Na'amneh said it marks "a new stage of severe sentences levied on Palestinians to meet settlers' demands and pressure on the Israeli government." Nidal Azeh, 15, the youngest of the group, received eight years of imprisonment. Abed Assali, another lawyer on the case, commented that it is the first time that young men arrested for throwing Molotovs had been given such severe sentences. Assali said that the Ramallah court had given in to pressure from settlers and Gush Emunim. The military prosecutor had asked the court to impose 12-year sentences "as a deterrent."

The military court refused to take into account the young age of the accused or the circumstances and sentences in similar cases. Adnan Ajarmeh was sentenced to five years, Isma'il Alian received six years, Mohammed Abu Srour was jailed for seven years and Khaled Khawaja will be in jail for nine years.

In 1982 youths from Beit Sahour who were accused of throwing Molotov cocktails received sentences of one-and-a-half years.

Poet Not Guilty of Publishing Incitement

Israeli military court in Nablus acquitted Palestinian poet and short story writer Sami Kilani of charges of incitement and publishing unlicensed material, January 11. The court based its decision on the fact that the military prosecutor did not present his claims in written form.

Kilani, a physics teacher at Najah University, was accused of distributing a poetry collection entitled *Wad (A Promise to) Iz al-Din al-Qassem* "which would incite the population in a way which would threaten safety and public order."

After reading a report by a literary expert, the military court decided that the collection did not contain inciting material.

The home of Fawzi Kiswani in Ras al-Amud was destroyed, January 17, by Israeli military authorities. The demolition order was carried out on the pretext the owner had no building license./AO photo

Haifa Area Home Destroyed

An unlicensed house belonging to a Palestinian resident in Ibtin village, Haifa district, was demolished, January 20.

Armoured cars and police vehicles escorted a sole bulldozer to where it destroyed Adnan Abed Ghmeidat's house.

Ghmeidat, a factory worker, received no notification or warning of the Israelis' intentions *vis a vis* his newly built home.

He was only verbally notified, January 18, that he had to clear his house of furniture, according to local reports.

Nayfeh Ghmeidat, his wife, said the family lived in a shack for many years and only built the two-room home a few months ago. "Nobody objected to the the construction," she said.

Jabaliya Gets Destruction Reprieve

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* January 17 preventing the military court in the Gaza Strip from convening any session to discuss the demolition of 24 houses in Jabaliya refugee camp, which was ordered over two years ago.

The order *nisi* stipulates that a three-judge committee will decide whether the Gaza military court has authority to discuss the issue.

Twenty-four families were ordered by the military governor in Gaza to demolish both additional rooms and new houses in the UNRWA-run Jabaliya camp, August 14, 1981, which the military claims were illegally built. The families were given four days to carry out the demolitions. Instead they sought legal intervention and an appeal to the High Court won them an order *nisi* preventing military authorities from destroying their homes.

Local residents say it is not part of the Gaza military court's authority to decide on domestic affairs. Jabaliya residents' advocate, Lea Tsemel, has been attempting to transfer the case to a local civilian court since 1981. She said that a local court has never issued a demolition decision.

The order *nisi* Tsemel obtained in 1981 was the first time the courts prevented the military from carrying out punitive demolitions.

Land Day Demonstrators Sentenced

Sentences of between six and 15 months were passed by a Haifa magistrate January 2 on three Galilee youths who were arrested on charges of demonstrating and hoisting a Palestinian flag.

Abed Abd al-Fattah, 21, from Kowkab Abu al-Haija, and Mohammed Khalaileh, 20, from Sakhnin, were given six months imprisonment and one year suspended for alleged participation in a demonstration on Land Day (March 30) 1983. Hassan Abu Luz, 21, from Sakhnin, who admitted that he set fire to a military jeep to block a road in Sakhnin in addition to the above-mentioned charges, was given 15 months imprisonment.

The youths were arrested, September 27, 1983 six months after the alleged demonstration and interrogated in Jalameh and Acre prisons. They were detained until their trial. The youths' lawyer, Wakim Wakim, said his clients had been subjected to psychological and physical torture.

Doctor Acquitted on Bullet-Stealing Charge

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus acquitted physician Jihad Awnallah, January 16, on charges of hiding a bullet and obstructing a criminal investigation.

Dr Awnallah, a surgeon at Rafidiya Hospital in Nablus, was arrested July 26 and detained for four days after operating on 18-year-old Ilham Abu Zarour who was shot in central Nablus by an Israeli settler. The young woman died shortly after the operation.

Colonel Amnon Setrashinov, the head of West Bank military courts who acquitted Awnallah, said, "We found no concrete evidence for the charge against the accused."

The court exonerated Dr Awnallah for his actions regarding treatment of shooting victim Ilham Abu Zarour. After removing the bullet which killed Ilham Dr Awnallah put it in his pocket in order to give it to the police.

Awnallah's lawyer, Walid Fahoum, had earlier sent a letter to the West Bank legal advisor asking for charges to be dropped for legal and moral reasons. Fahoum told *Al Fajr* that after a long delay, he received a negative answer.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 195, January 25, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors 32
Number of articles totally censored out 5
Number of articles partially censored but used 4
Number of articles passed 23

ICO Fold Returns to Egypt

Five years after its ouster for signing a treaty with Israel, Egypt was accepted back into the Islamic Conference Organisation's ranks, January 20, by unanimous vote at the fourth Islamic Summit, in Dar al-Baida, Morocco, January 17—20. It paved the way for further public rapprochement between reactionary Arab states and the Egyptian regime.

The final statement, issued after a one-day delay because of opposition from Syria and other Arab states, invited Egypt to resume its membership in the ICO. The statement said that Egypt's return to the ICO's ranks is conditional on its support for the Arab peace plan, adopted by the Arab Summit conference in Fez, in 1982, and other unspecified Arab and Islamic positions. The conference did not demand that Egypt drop the Camp David agreement for which its membership was suspended five years ago.

The conference sent a delegation to convey the summit's resolution to the Egyptian government.

Leading the campaign for Egypt's return were the Jordanian and Iraqi delegations. Opposition came from South Yemen, Syria, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia and the west African state of Benin.

In Egypt, the *United Press* quoted higher-ranking Egyptian officials as saying that Cairo will accept the Islamic Conference's invitation to resume its role in the Organisation. President Husni Mubarak sent a telegramme to Pakistani President Zia al-Haq praising the resolution.

Earlier, Egypt announced through Presidential Advisor on Foreign Affairs Usama al-Baz that his country will not accept any conditional invitation or proposals from anyone.

Among other resolutions adopted by the Islamic Summit were decisions to adopt the Fez Arab Summit peace plan and a call for the unity of Lebanon.

Jordanian Minister of the Royal Court Adnan Abu Odeh, who is responsible for special governmental tasks, paid a brief and surprise visit to Egypt, January 21, carrying a letter from King Hussein to the Egyptian president. Abu Odeh returned to Jordan on the same day carrying President Mubarak's reply.

Commenting on the surprise visit, Egyptian newspapers said it was related to the increasing rapprochement between Egypt and Jordan. Israeli and Western analysts perceive the recent silent political manoeuvres as leading towards a tripartite coordination between Egypt, Jordan and the PLO.

Hamdan Not Released in POW Exchange

The family of a Palestinian prisoner from Arrabeh, in the Jenin district, has demanded that Israeli authorities explain why Othman Ra'afat Said Hamdan, 23, was not released as specified by the prisoner exchange agreement between the PLO and Israel, November 25, 1983.

Hamdan's name was among the list of prisoners to be released under auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The family assumed their son was released until they received a letter from him December 25, 1983 via the Red Cross. He told his family that he left Ansar prison on November 9. On requests from the ICRC Israeli authorities notified the Hamdan family that Othman is being held in Atlit military prison in the Acre region.

"The ICRC sent several telegrammes on behalf of the family to the authorities concerned which have not yet been answered. Last week the Hamdan family appointed an Israeli lawyer to follow up the case. Othman Hamdan was arrested in Lebanon, June 26, 1982, during the Israeli invasion." (Translation: Al Ittihad, January 23, 1984).

Student Leader Jailed for Contacts

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced, January 17, Nayef Sweitat, a former Bir Zeit University Student Council chairperson, to nine months prison on charges of contacting a PLO organisation. He was also given a 15-month suspended sentence.

Sweitat, a resident of Jenin, was arrested October 12, 1983 on charges that he met officials of a "hostile" organisation in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Sweitat headed the BZU Student Council almost 18 months during 1982-83. He has been summoned to police headquarters in Jenin several times and was detained in Fara'a prison

Teacher Jailed for Membership

NABLUS — Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced, January 16, Abd al-Karim Kana'an, a teacher from Tulkarm, to 18 months jail and 18 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation since 1979 and leading a secret cell.

The Dawn
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Jordan's Role

Seven individuals, virtual unknowns to the people of the West Bank, were appointed by the Jordanian parliament to fill their vacant seats among the 30 set aside for the West Bank. Each was chosen to represent a district whose member had either died or retired since 1967. Thus the Hashemite regime 'cleared its conscience' and now has a full house in its parliament, at least regarding the West Bank, and intends to continue with its devious game of undermining the legitimate representation.

Those who forgot the core of the problem and are pinning their hopes on these 30 people to effect a transformation of the situation should be reminded that this same parliament still has 23 West Bank members who were in office when Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967. Now, after 17 years, what has actually changed besides them getting a little older?

What purpose does the reconvening of the Jordanian parliament and filling the vacant posts have? Is it to restore democracy to West Bankers? Is it to save the people and the land from occupation as the Jordanian government claims? Or is it one more step on Hussein's path to resume his role as suppressor of the Palestinian people's aspirations?

As for democracy – there was none of that here. The simple process of people freely choosing their representatives was applied neither regarding the 23 who retained their seats since 1967 nor the seven new ones. The West Bank population have time and again expressed their free will: the PLO is the sole and legitimate representative.

Saving the people and the land has been an ongoing slogan for the last 17 years. The same regime, and in this particular case the same individuals, were in office between 1967 and 1974. How is it that during those seven years they could not save anything when the balance of forces in the Middle East was even more to their favour: the Arab world looked more united and the 1973 October war victory was still a major factor.

No miracle has occurred to change the situation unless the long-awaited killer blow to the real representatives of the Palestinians has happened and no one has been told of it.

The British colonial power undertook, in 1921, to establish the Hashemite dynasty in Transjordan for a specific role: to absorb the Palestinians who would be expelled from Palestine when the Zionist dream was realised, to safeguard the new state-to-be and to crush and suppress any revolutionary movement in the area. The regime has diligently fulfilled this role since then.

They were central in undermining the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine. They annexed what remained of Palestine in Arab hands after the setting up of the state of Israel as part of the same plan. They have joined fully in suppressing any Palestinian uprising in pursuit of their rights – most notoriously in the Black September 1970 massacre of Palestinians in their country.

When the storm grew in 1974, the Jordanian regime bent with the wind and waited. Now the regime thinks the time is right. The answer will only come from the Palestinian people.

The Jordanian Parliament and the PLO

by Sam'an Khoury

In a totally expected move, King Hussein of Jordan ordered the old parliament elected in April 1967 to meet, and in order to hide the real aims, he announced it as a step to revive parliamentary life in Jordan which officially stopped after the Rabat Arab Summit conference in 1974. At that time Hussein had suspended the parliament as a gesture of his adherence to the summit resolutions concerning the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He also established the "National Consultative Council" (NCC) to replace the parliament. The ostentatious move, however, was only a tactical retraction on Hussein's part because it left open the possibility of rescinding these decisions whenever the king wanted, as he wanted recently.

The NCC was a constitutional transitional framework which never supplanted the parliament, and thus did not affect Hussein's machinations to keep his control over the West Bank.

For those with short memories:

Hussein continued interfering in the daily life of the West Bank population. He used the Steadfastness Fund money and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian Committee to keep his position in the West Bank and to consolidate the powers of his agents in the occupied territories. Large sums of money were allocated to reactionary institutions and municipalities while many obstacles were created for the national institutions. This meant that during the last 10 years the Hashemite regime never gave in to the PLO the sole representation for the West Bank. All the regime's statements acknowledging the PLO and adhering to resolutions of Arab and international conferences were as fraudulent as a forged land deed.

We in the West Bank saw this clearly. This is why, since the 17 years of Israeli occupation, there was never a popular local initiative toward Jordan's hand.

The Jordanian regime considered the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the PLO's departure from Beirut as one mouse hole through which it could achieve its aims. This is why the regime approved the Reagan plan in September 1982 while the PLO was still in the process of evacuation. The timing made it obvious that the Israeli invasion boosted the royal regime in its attempts to circumvent Arab summit resolutions and the Palestinian people's national rights of return, self-determination and the independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

The second mouse hole was the split within the Palestinian movement after the emergence of the Fatah protest movement and the resulting bloodshed and attacks against the Palestinian camps in Tripoli and the effects of that on the unity of the PLO institutions.

Arafat's visit to Cairo gave another indication to the regime that the time was ripe to take a major political move, to pressure the PLO and blackmail its independent decision. The regime rightfully concluded that Arafat's visit gave it the cover it needed: it showed how the PNC resolutions could be ignored by the rightist stream among Palestinians.

We can understand the Jordanian ploy to resuscitate the old parliament at a time when the regime is fully convinced that the opportunity is nigh to undermine the PLO.

Meanwhile Jordan covers up its mouse holes after running through.

No one believes its claims that this latest step does not violate the legitimacy of Palestinian representation, that parliamentary life in Jordan cannot remain suspended until the occupation ends. The regime is only trying to reduce the dangers behind its decisions.

It also claims of caring only for legal ties with the West Bank, from one corner of international law, and that if parliamentary life is revived in Jordan alone this would create a political vacuum that Israel would immediately exploit. The legal, legitimate responsibility of the PLO for the occupied territories long ago was confirmed by the resolutions of successive Arab summits, Islamic conferences, African states conferences, non-aligned countries' conferences and the United Nations. This recognition is supported by the widest international representation, with Israel and the US alone in their opposition. And these two states not coincidentally, and not so secretly, welcomed the Jordanian decision. Israel even facilitated the bridge exit of the West Bank parliamentary members, belying its interest in creating any legal vacuum here.

The claim that this step has nothing to do with PLO legitimacy is contradicted by many facts. First, this step creates two representatives for the West Bank Palestinians: (a) its 30 members in the Jordanian parliament, (b) the PLO. Second, it runs counter to the demands of the Jordanian people in holding elections before ending martial law which prohibits political activity in Jordan. Meanwhile Jordanian agents in the West Bank are busy holding talks with Israeli officials (Labour Alignment), and Israeli Knesset member Mohammed Watad has been officially invited to visit Jordan. It is easy to see what it all means, underneath Hussein's PLO *hatta*.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

UNRWA: The Comprehensive Exam and Trainee Attitudes

To the Editor of *Al-Fajr* Palestinian Weekly:

Over the past few weeks there has been some press exposure concerning attitudes of some trainees at the Agency's training centres towards the requirement for eligible trainees to sit for a comprehensive examination at the completion of their training.

I advise that I spoke to the student councils of the Agency's three training centres about this matter today (16 January) and that I am writing to the parents/guardians of the trainees to appraise them of the situation also.

I re-confirm that the Agency's role is to provide education services and in the content of comprehensive examination it is to prepare trainees to sit for the examinations.

For the understanding of your readers I quote below extracts of information being sent to the parents/guardians of trainees at the Agency's training centres.

"The Agency has, as one of its major obligations, the responsibility and wish to offer a suitable educational service to refugee children. It is equally incumbent upon parents or guardians to ensure that their children diligently apply themselves to their studies so that their children may derive the utmost benefit from UNRWA's educational services.

The following facts should be clearly understood:

A. The Agency cannot and does not run an independent education system.

UNRWA vocational trainees: "UNRWA's educational system in the West Bank must follow the curriculae laid down by the Jordanian Ministry of Educational."

B. In accordance with long-standing agreements between UNRWA and the Jordanian State, UNRWA's education system in the West Bank must follow the curriculae laid down by the Jordanian Ministry of Education.

C. In 1981 the Ministry of Education reorganised the curriculae of teacher training and vocational training centres. In addition, such centres were classified as community colleges where eligible trainees could, upon completion of college graduation requirements, sit for a Comprehensive Examination. If successful in that examination a diploma would be issued by the Ministry of Education.

D. The Ministry of Education has removed from Community Colleges the authority to issue any form of diploma, retaining this authority to itself. Such colleges could, however, issue a "musaddaqa" stating a trainee had completed a course of study and was qualified to sit for the Comprehensive Examination.

E. The Agency cannot and will not compel any trainee to sit for the Comprehensive Examination. Such a decision and the responsibility for it rests solely with the trainee.

F. Senior Agency staff, both of Training Centres and of the UNRWA Department of Education, have time and time again made the above abundantly clear to the trainees. Those staff have also very clearly stressed that students must distinguish between application to their studies and regular attendance on the one hand and the comprehensive examination on the other.

G. The Agency is most distressed and disturbed that trainees have been unwilling to understand or accept the advice given. Their actions in irresponsibly disputing the above has caused grave disruptions to the educational services, which the Agency wishes to provide."

I should be grateful if my letter could be published by your newspaper please.

R. E. Skinner
Director of UNRWA Operations
West Bank

Religious Law and Apartheid in Israel

by Amnon Rubinstein

One weeknight the Israeli public saw an Israeli rabbi explaining on television – conveniently and with nice words — why *halacha* (Jewish religious law) rules introduction of an *apartheid* regime in Israel, and why the Bible orders distinctions between Jews and non-Jews. This *apartheid* is made imperative by the need not to mix with (non-Jews)... in order not to learn their way (of life) and inter-marry. Because of this that rabbi, acting for the *Torah* and *Halachaic* Institute which he heads, went to the housing ministry and requested it issue suitable regulations so that Jews and non-Jews would not need to live in the same neighbourhood.

This is not exceptional. They are well-integrated into a set-up that establishes a purported *halachaic* basis justifying the introduction of a racist regime in Israel. Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg, winner of the 1976 Israel Prize, is not satisfied with separation between Jews and Arabs: he demands "expelling the *goyim* (peoples, used to mean gentiles or non-Jews) from Jerusalem" — and this apparently includes their expulsion from the Islamic and Christian holy places, " to purify it totally." What is requested in Jerusalem by the respected rabbi is requested by a teacher, an inhabitant of Kedumim settlement, writing in *Nekuda* (Point), the official organ of the Jewish Settlement Council in (the West Bank), for the whole of the country. In his opinion, "There is no land for the Arabs in this country" and therefore we must "encourage them to leave here"... before we are forced "to put the Arabs on buses."

* * * * *

These aren't exceptional expressions nowadays. After armed Jews murdered an 11-year-old girl in Nablus and attempted to murder her sister, the settlers in Elon Moreh responded to the police's attempt to search for suspects by ignoring the investigators, with placards slandering the police calling them "Ishma'il Police" and "Nazis." Harming Arabs is not unacceptable. When those famous unknown people attempted to assassinate the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, MK Rabbi Haim Druckman responded, "So all of your enemies should be gone, Israel."

I hesitate to put on paper everything being written by rabbis these days. It is enough for me to mention that infamous article that a rabbi published in the students' organ of the (religious Jewish) Bar Ilan University under the headline "The Order of Genocide in the Torah." Yes. Yes. This is not a printing mistake. The respected rabbi orders us to commit genocide against the modern 'Amalek. No reservations, no editorial comment were added to these contemptuous words. And when former Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan actually annulled the sentence of the murderers of Arab citizens — out of loyalty to a worldview that maintains that a "good Arab is a dead Arab" — he was given a lot of support by Gush Emunim rabbis and nowadays he is the hero of the whole national camp.

* * * * *

We have in front of us, therefore, a whole set-up that is aimed at giving over the *halachaic* establishment to a regime that upholds racial separation, expulsion of non-Jews and for this end even justification for killing Arab citizens is prepared. One who belittles the significance of this terrifying set-up ignores the process accompanying its birth: first came words, then silence and acceptance and finally deeds.

* * * * *

When I look at the signpost on this road — in the pictures and the *halachaic* judgements — I ask myself how I can distinguish between the writers of the words and the perpetrators of the deeds. No doubt their world is different from the (pre-1967) Zionist world. (Then) all Zionists — without exception — said the total opposite of what the people of the national-religious camp say and do (today), and for this matter there was no difference between right and left, secular and religious.

It is sufficient to look at any Zionist writing — from Herzl and Nordau, through Jabotinsky and Weitzmann, to Sharett and Ben Gurion — in order to see that all the *halachaic* judgements and *Nekuda* columns are nothing more than a denial of the essence of Zionism. Anyone who thinks that those who preach racist *apartheid* express a Zionist idea must erase from the memory everything that was said from the first Zionist Congress to the Declaration of Independence...

* * * * *

However, I ask myself an additional question: not who is a Jew but what is a Jew — not by the laws of purity of source according to the test of the mother and grandmother and *halachaic* conversion nor the laws of burial according to the test of "whose this bone is." I ask myself whether a Jew can write that the Bible orders genocide and remain, essentially, by value, a Jew; what is the Jewishness of those who nowadays preach that we'll do to others all that is hated by Jews in every other place? Is it a Jew who enters armed into Nablus and murders a little girl in cold blood even if he puts on *tefilin* every day, even if he observes the easiest and the most difficult *mitzvot* (Jewish religious injunctions).

And I ask myself how Jews in the diaspora will respond, hearing the poisonous words of these new Jews. Here is that rabbi from Mazkereth Batyah who spoke this week about the need to separate us and them. If his *halacha* is correct here, certainly it is right in the diaspora. *Halacha*, apparently, is universal and if the separation is demanded here, it is also demanded in the diaspora. What does the televised rabbi, therefore, propose to diaspora Jews? He proposes they cancel all they fought for and return to the ghettos. And how would the Jews respond if a Christian clergyman said publicly the same thing about them, and based the need for separation between them and the *goyim* on theological arguments? Wouldn't we say he is an anti-Semite? However, can a Jew be an anti-Semite? Can a Jew be the opposite of all that is identified with the human tradition of their people? (Translation: HaAretz, December 30, 1983).

Amnon Rubinstein is a member of Knesset in the Shinui Party.

Dimming Arab Lights in Nablus

The opening of the new Nablus electricity generating station to power the city and surrounding villages was seen as a victory in the city for the perseverance and fund-raising acumen of then-Mayor Bassam Shaka'a. Daoud Kuttab of *Al Fajr* was recently in Nablus and found that not content with destroying the municipality in 1982 the Israeli officers who now rule the city are out to destroy this vital project.

Bassam Shaka'a officially opens Nablus electric project in 1980. Problems facing the utility company have intensified since the mayor's forced replacement in 1982.

An important and ambitious national project in Nablus, the West Bank's largest city, is under a death threat. The Nablus electricity company, established through the perseverance of city residents and their popular, mayor Bassam Shaka'a, is now under threat of closure by the newly-appointed Israeli mayor of the Palestinian city.

Election Promises

During the 1976 election campaign, Bassam Shaka'a promised Nabulsis he would pay attention to the city's greatest needs — water and electricity. After his landslide victory, Shaka'a went ahead with plans to revamp the water and electricity supply to the district which had reached about 350,000 residents.

The electricity project was an especially vital one since the old Nablus electricity company was unable to meet the needs of the growing community. Nablus, like the other major West Bank cities of Tulkarm, Qalqiliya, Jenin and Hebron, was being pressured to connect with the Israeli water grid. This goal, residents still charge, is part of Israeli occupation authorities' plans to keep the Palestinian population of the West Bank completely dependent on Israel. Serious attempts to take over the only other major Palestinian-owned utility, the Jerusalem Electric Company, have so far failed

Bassam Shaka'a fought tooth-and-nail to accomplish the dream of self-reliance for the municipality. Attempts to get international companies to bid for the contracts in the new project were hampered by the Israeli authorities. A license to build the project was only granted after the municipality's request reached the level of then Defence Minister Ezer Weizman. After obtaining the license, a massive fund raising operation took place. The Nablus municipality succeeded in raising US$10.5 million.

For his mayorship, Bassam Shaka'a almost lost his life in 1980 when an Israeli terrorist bomb blew up his car. He survived, legs amputated, and in one of his first official duties after convalescing, opened the new Nablus national electric project. It provided 15,000 kilowatt power to Nablus and surrounding villages. Israeli military authorities were still adamant about not allowing the new project to extend power lines to surrounding villages, however. Military officials intervened to stop the company taking lines to villages despite the fact that contracts had been signed between various communities and the Nablus company.

Military legal experts produced a military order 427, in 1971. The previously unheard of order stipulated that any matter relating to providing or extending electricity in the West Bank must be approved by the Israeli officer in charge of electricity. Villages like Sebastia and Salfit, which had expected to get electricity from Nablus, were told either to take electricity from the Israeli grid or stay in the dark. Sebastia refused, and continued to run its own small generator, while Salfit was forced to connect to the Israeli grid via the settlement of Ariel.

Israeli Mayor

The problems facing the Nablus electricity company greatly intensified in the spring of 1982. The company, which was owned and administered by the Nablus municipality, was the prize the Israeli mayor won when the military forcibly replaced Bassam Shaka'a in April 1982.

Since that date, there has been a non-stop feud between the company's Palestinian administrator and the series of Israeli mayors. According to Adnan Dirhali, director of the electricity company, "The three Israeli mayors have purposely worked at sabotaging the project we worked so hard to get off the ground."

Dirhali explains that the present Israeli mayor, army officer Jaber Henoh, has done the most to damage the company. The two major areas of complaint are prices and spare parts. The cost of electricity in Nablus, which is determined by the municipality, has increased in the last three months by 11.5 percent. Now a single kilowatt hour of electricity costs Nablus residents IS18, three times the price in Jerusalem. The Nablus company engineer explained that the enormous price increases dictated by the Israeli mayor are aimed at pressuring Nabulsis to request electricity from the cheaper Israeli grid. Dirhali said, "Henoh (the Israeli mayor) fixes the cost of the electricity according to the number of kilowatts used." Dirhali points out that this does not allow for public consumption: between 25-30 percent of the electrical supply goes to power the city's ten water pumps, and lighting for streets and municipal buildings also pulls considerable power. "In

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TNT: Profile of a Terror Group

Who is 'Terror Against Terror,' the Israeli group which claimed responsibility for attacks on three West Bank mayors in 1980 and 14 bomb attacks against non-Jews late last year? Mauricio Yager recently examined available public information about the group for *Al Hamishmar* and reached the conclusion arrived at in the occupied territories, three years ago.

The voice of the TNT ('Terror Against Terror') "spokesman" teaches us that the extremists — who were mainly new immigrants from the USA — have overcome their isolation and some Israeli-born people who served in the Israeli army have joined them.. The slogan "Arabs Out!" that appeared on the Kach leaflet this week in Jerusalem serves as a motto for all the TNT activities.

The right-wing group TNT has taken responsibility for a series of recent terrorist acts in the country. The police, the security services and many politicians express concern about these acts. So far, however, their investigations have not found anything. Along with this, an examination of the events and of the organisations active on the right wing of the political map make it easier to draw a presumed profile of the TNT movement.

According to what has been learned so far, there are two directions of investigation; settlers in the West Bank and the Jewish Defence League of (Kach leader) Rabbi Kahane. So far, TNT revealed itself through its spokesman. That man phones editors of newspapers and the radio in order to take responsibility for the terrorist acts. Very little can be learned from his voice, except for the fact that he spoke excellent Hebrew, without a foreign accent, and was described by those who heard him as "polite and sympathetic."

So far, all the candidates for membership of the terrorist groups have been immigrants from the US, former activists in Rabbi Kahane's League, but it seems that recently they succeeded in breaking the barrier of isolation that surrounded them and conscripted to their ranks Israeli-born members.

Haste to Press

Piles of words were written about Rabbi Kahane and his gang, primarily connected with his acts in the country. Little was written about his acts in America. Among these are a training camp for League activists in fighting tactics and the use of weapons. Some League members, who come to the country as tourists or temporary residents, are already prepared mentally and practically for terrorist acts. Since not all of them serve in the Israeli army, they have dificulty in obtaining grenades and explosives for terrorist acts. But they don't lose their enthusiasm. They absorb the preaching of the "rabbi" against every "foreign element," be it (Christian) missions or the Arabs.

The killer of the child Aisha Bahash in Nablus is being exposed, in this period. The man, an Elon Moreh resident, turned suspicion on all settlers as potential murderers. Despite the need not to generalise, the murder affair proves an inclination among some settlers to eagerness to squeeze the trigger, without too much hesitation in choosing the target.

Another interesting fact is that many settlers served in the army in commanding posts and are considered excellent fighters. If one or two of these joined TNT, no doubt the organisation used the tremendous experience and knowledge they obtained in the Israeli army, both in fighting technique and in handling explosives and weaponry. It shouldn't be forgotten that during reserve service, for instance, it is possible to take home a certain number of grenades.

About three years ago, in one of the periods of tension between Israeli and Arab students at Haifa University, members of the Jewish Defence League interfered in events on campus. As there were only two or three student members of the League, they mobilised people identified with the underworld. They have never had to cover their hatred for Arabs.

This is not the only example that proves cooperation between these two elements and it points to the nature in which the organisation can lean and to the moral and political restrictions that might prevail.

Like any underground organisation one of the primary aims of TNT is simply to win fame. There is no lack of sensitive ground in the country that every slight act might cause a shake, the echoes of which would be heard outside the country's borders. This can be learned from the places that were selected as targets for the first terrorist acts: Christian religious institutions and mosques.

"Arabs — Out!"

The next stage that seems central for the TNT people is to frighten the (West) Bank's inhabitants. One of the problems that burdens settlers' lives in the (occupied) territories is stone-throwing at Israeli vehicles on the roads. The settlers warned about this for a long time and pressed the government to increase preventative and punitive measures. In spite of all that has been done so far in this field, the settlers are not satisfied, those extreme elements in the West Bank even less. Therefore, they take the law into their own hands. The feeling is sharper, that the stone-throwers get away with easy punishments. TNT members certainly want them to be more severe. Although no one has taken responsibility for the murderous assault on the Islamic College in Hebron (in July 1982), it seems that this is a possible direction in order to tie up the ends.

Finally, every underground acts with the intention to make everyday life hard. Kahane and the people of the extreme right never hid their intention to expel the Arabs from the country. Or in more gentle words, to pressure them to emigrate. No doubt a few people have come to the conclusion that their ideas should be brought forth, especially on the West Bank. Some acts that were committed so far, like the placing of booby-trapped grenades in Azariya village or in Husan, aimed at frightening people, but it doesn't seem that TNT will be satisfied with just that. Its members will act in order to make Arab lives unbearable. So they hope to help all hesitant people to gather their belongings and go over to Jordan. "Arabs — Out!" — the slogan that appeared this week on a leaflet of the Kach movement in Jerusalem serves as a motto for all the terrorist acts of TNT. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, January 8, 1984).

The territorial expansion of Jerusalem following 1967 was motivated by ideology. **Meron Benvenisti**, in a survey of the implications of that decision for the French magazine *Autrement*, examines the impact of Israeli settlement on local Palestinian-Israeli relations.

Planned Polarisation in Jerusalem

Jerusalem is a polarised community; therefore one should expect very strong coping mechanisms. Moreover, the deep-seated sense of insecurity that affects the community creates very high levels of perceived threat among the conflicting groups in the city, with the inevitable result of strong spatial segregation. Jerusalem represents a peculiar case of an urban conflict in another aspect also: the conflict in Jerusalem is perceived not as a micro-ethnic dispute but as an extension of the macro-national struggle. As Frederik Boal (1980) observes on the Belfast situation: "The struggle over measures is not confined to the bounds of urban territoriality but extends to territoriality at an inter-state level." Resources and especially space transcend their intrinsic value and become assets, often symbolic objects. Defence, attack, invasion and retreat are perceived in wider national terms, like military operations. The city and its space are perceived as the arena of the bi-national conflict.

The use of space and growth of segregated Jewish settlements and regions as building blocks for nationhood is a basic Zionist concept and a well-established Israeli practice. Redemption of the Land ("Geulat Haqarqa") is loaded with supreme symbolic and ideological significance.

The history of the Zionist enterprise is an account of physical *faits accomplis* created to achieve national, political and military objectives. This policy was rigorously pursued especially in Jerusalem (Benvenisti, 1976; 233-255). The basic planning directive given to the City Engineer's Office of Jerusalem for the preparation of the city's outline scheme (zoning code and development plan) was:

Any area not settled by Jews is in danger of being cut off from Israel and ceded to Arab rule. Therefore one should translate the administrative provision [of the incorporation of East Jerusalem by the Israelis] concerning municipal jurisdiction into concrete steps by building in all parts of the [annexed] area, primarily on the edges of the [new] municipal border. (Jerusalem Outline Scheme, proposal, 1977).

The mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, states:

The Arabs in East Jerusalem would like their part of the city to revert to Arab sovereignty, and this cannot come about if the area is geographically cut off from Arab territory by new Jewish suburbs. (Kollek, 1978; 225). "The reason for settling the new [Jewish] neighbourhoods" in Northern Jerusalem, says Kollek (1978; 223), was "the desire to secure Mount Scopus by creating a land bridge to that area so that it could never be cut off again, as it had been in [the war of] 1948."

An extraordinary example of how the whole Jewish-Arab conflict can be encapsulated into a single dwelling is provided by a decision of the Israeli Supreme Court (sitting as a High Court of Justice). An Arab resident of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City, whose house was expropriated, applied to the government agency in charge of restoring the area for permission to buy back his house and not to be evicted. When his application was denied he petitioned the High Court of Justice. In rejecting the petition, Supreme Court Judge Haim Cohen wrote (unofficial translation):

. . . third, the need for reconstructing the Jewish Quarter in the Old City emerged only because the armies of Jordan invaded it, expelled the Jews, looted their property and demolished their houses. In the nature of things, the reconstruction came to restore the glory of the Jewish settlement in the Old City as of old, so that the Jews will once again have a quarter for themselves, next to the Muslim and Christian quarters. There is no invalid discrimination in setting aside quarters for each specific community.

Fourth, if there is discrimination against Jordanian citizens owing allegiance to the Kingdom of Jordan as in this case [of the petitioner, a Jerusalem-born Arab, who became a Jordanian subject after 1948], this discrimination seems justified and proper to me. We lament and deplore the evils that the Jordanians committed against us in the Old City, and it cannot be demanded of us that we shall open the gate wide to them to return and settle precisely in the Jewish Quarter. One can explain and justify such discrimination in terms of security and political considerations.

"The pattern of settlement in Jerusalem closely followed the fluctuation of security conditions," observes Amiran (IEJ, Vol. 3, 1953; 70). Considering the stormy history of the City of Peace, it is not surprising that the pattern of segregated ethno-religious communities characterises Jerusalem. Since the Middle Ages, the Old City has been divided into four homogeneous quarters: Christian, Armenian, Jewish and Muslim. When in the 1870s people dared to settle outside the walled city they maintained the segregated pattern. All the Jewish neighbourhoods built in New Jerusalem until the termination of the British Mandate possessed a clear ethnic, cultural and social identity. The Arab neighbourhoods built in New Jerusalem were also religiously and socially homogeneous. The spatial separation of Jews and Arabs was very strong, but some mixed areas did exist. The severe inter-communal riots (1920, 1929, 1936-39) intensified segregation, first in residential clustering and then (especially during the "Arab Revolt" of 1936-37) it extended also to business and daily activity segregation. However, until the termination of the British Mandate, the city maintained strong intercommunal interaction.

Just before the outbreak of communal violence preceding the 1948 war (Fall 1947), there were in Jerusalem 100,000 Jews and 64,000 non-Jews (33,000 Muslims and 31,000 Christians). We have no way of ascertaining how many of the Christians were Palestinian Arabs and how many Western or other Christians. Spatial segregation was strong. Kendall (1948) identified in 1944 twenty-six segregated neighbourhoods, eight (or a quarter of which) were mixed to a certain extent but with enough of an ethnic majority to establish a distinct ethnic character. From the inaccurate statistical data available (N.P. Data), the following pattern emerges: almost 17,000 people, or 10.5% of the total population, lived in mixed neighbourhoods. The mixed population consisted of 12,000 Jews and 6,000 non-Jews, or 12% of the Jewish population and 10% of the non-Jewish population. Five of the mixed neighbourhoods had a Jewish majority varying from 93% to 64%; three had an Arab majority of 98.5% and 72%.

The mixed neighbourhoods were situated mainly in and around the central business district. Muslim, Christian and Jewish shops were located in the central business district, but clientele was usually segregated. Most mixed neighbourhoods were inhabited by upper middle-class Jewish and non-Jewish households (mainly Christian). 88% of the Jews and 90% of the non-Jews lived in entirely homogeneous neighbourhoods.

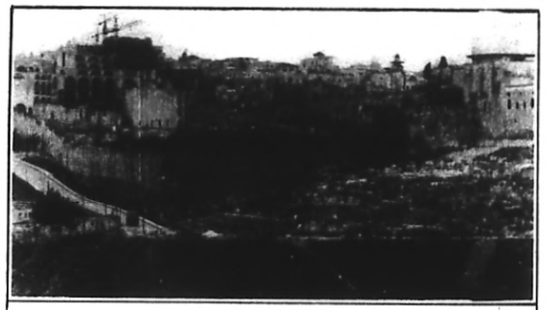
As a result of the 1948 war, all non-Jewish residents of mixed areas left, beginning with the middle-class households. Fourteen thousand non-Jews who lived in Arab neighbourhoods in West Jerusalem left as well. The exodus was gradual, slower during the first months of violence (November 1947-March 1948), and the accelerating with the occupation of areas by Jewish forces. Altogether, a third of the non-Jewish population left their homes. Two thousand Jewish residents of the Old City left their segregated quarter after its fall into the hands of Arab forces (2% of the total Jewish population). During the fighting, thousands were killed and wounded. The Jewish city had been under effective Arab siege for six weeks.

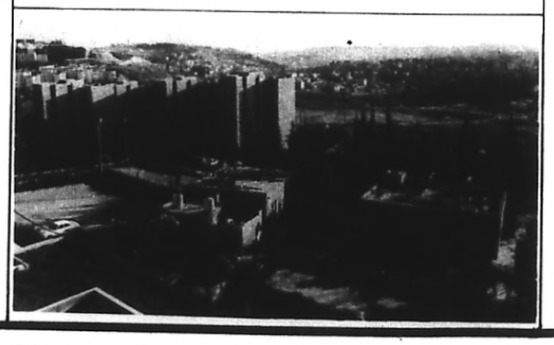
These cataclysmic events were culminated by the partition of the city. Barbed-wire fences, minefields and fortified positions dissected the city at its very centre. Former affluent business and residential areas became slums. Israelis and Arabs developed new areas away from the unsafe border. The Israelis turned to the only direction open to them — westward; the Arabs — northward. The centre of gravity of both populations moved away from the historic centre of Jerusalem — the Old City. Had these processes continued, two separate cities would have been created, one to the east and the other to the west, with a desolate mined area in between ("No-man's-land"). These processes were stopped by the re-unification of the city in 1967.

Until 1970, the pattern of segregation remained as it was during the nineteen years of partition; that is, two ethnically homogeneous areas on both sides of the 1948 Armistice Line. However, Israeli policies of creating political facts by spatial control changed the pattern. The Israelis expropriated almost a third of the total area of East Jerusalem from its Arab owners and began a massive construction operation. Vast housing projects have been constructed in "strategically located" areas. By 1980, 60,000 Jews were residing beyond the Armistice Line, compared to 115,000 Arabs who resided in East Jerusalem. Moreover, the housing developments were planned to accommodate more than twice the 1980 figure (a total of 32,365 apartments).

In 1980, three more housing projects were planned in the area, bringing the figure of planned Jewish population beyond the Armistice Line to almost 200,000. All these housing projects were planned, constructed and settled as homogeneous Jewish areas. Their construction did not change the pattern of spatial segregation. In fact, the construction of Jewish housing adjacent to existing Arab areas made segregation more tangible and even dramatic in its physical and social expressions. Jewish housing developments consisting of 5-8-storey residential buildings are built a short distance from single-storey traditional Arab dwellings. All Jewish neighbourhoods contain their own shopping centres, schools and community centres, planned to cater exclusively for the Jewish residents. Roads and utilities pass through Arab areas, connecting the new developments with the main city system but with no connection to the primitive Arab network.

Two separate business districts function in the city, as well as two public transportation systems and two electrical grids. There are two different voluntary land-value scales, one for transactions between Jews, and one for transactions between Arabs, as inter-ethnic voluntary land purchase is almost nonexistent. A special Jordanian law forbids the sale of land to Israelis on penalty of death.





Segregationist policies and the scramble for "strategic space" in Jerusalem: the Jewish Quarter of the Old City expands (above) while new homes near Israeli government office in Sheikh Jarrah are a link to the French Hill settlement. "The major planning decisions that molded Jerusalem's physical shape. . . were guided by the well-practiced Zionist principle that physical control of space would decide Israel's borders."

The initial Arab reaction to the massive Israeli "invasion" was characterised by "apathy or inaction." They withdrew behind the perimetres of their neighbourhoods and tried to find security among "their own kind." An Arab journalist wrote:

The character of the [Arab] city has basically not changed. The Jewish housing projects have been built so that they will form a dividing belt and will encircle the Arab quarters. . . All the time I visualised the Arab quarters in Jaffa, Haifa and Acre [today], which have turned into shabby slums, in which the Arab residents cluster as if they were afraid that if they did not huddle together they would be ignored completely. All the time I saw that apparition walking quietly and anxiously from Jaffa to Haifa to Arab Jerusalem. (Quoted by Benvenisti, 1973; 319).

In the mid-seventies, the Arab mood changed somewhat. Many of them began to build houses on their land with the main objective of occupying it and thus preventing the Jews from requisitioning it. Jordanian-PLO funds have been allocated for the purpose of subsidising Arab housing. The result was that hundreds of Arab single dwellings, many built without license, began to cover the empty spaces. The battle over spatial control is still raging. When the Israelis sent surveyors in 1977 to plan an extension to an ancient Jewish cemetery, the Arabs pre-empted the takeover by building a mosque overnight.

Right-wing Israeli councilmen constantly accuse the mayor of "incompetence" in controlling illegal Arab building. The symbolic value of land finds frequent expression in both camps. The Arab petitioner to the Supreme Court (see above) testified that "the laws of his religion and his convictions do not permit him to sell land to the Jews." Nor have the Arabs forgotten their homes in West Jerusalem. When in 1973 the Israeli government offered to pay compensation for Arab property in West Jerusalem, the Arabs refused the offer because: "there is no financial compensation for the loss of one's home and homeland" (Benvenisti, 1976; 156). The Israelis, although overwhelmingly more numerous and powerful, also show signs of insecurity. Residents of a housing development consisting of more than 10,000 Jews complained that "they feel threatened by the Arabs who reside along the highway leading to their homes." They demanded that the government create a "Jewish territorial continuity" between them and the main Jewish urban concentrations. The government obliged.

The scramble for the open spaces resulted in an unprecedented building activity in the whole metropolitan area of Jerusalem, far outside the boundaries of the municipality. Despite the unequal strength of the conflicting parties, the struggle is far from being decided. The total population of the metropolitan area, some 30 sq. miles, reached the 600,000 mark in 1980 and is equally divided between Jews and Arabs. The Israelis make skillful use of their relative advantage in material resources and coercive power; the Arabs react with their very high birth rate and their adaptability to changing economic conditions. As the construction workers on the Jewish housing projects, they benefit from the economic boom and use it to develop their own economy and to expand Arab construction.

Israeli official policies concerning spatial segregation were summarised thus.

Preservation of the unity of Jerusalem by siting neighbourhoods in a form that would create a non-polarised mosaic of communities; patching together infrastructure systems; connecting the public parks system, and tying together the central business districts; construction of institutions and city-wide facilities. (Jerusalem Municipal Council resolution on the principles of the 1977 outline scheme, 8.5.77, official records).

areas should become also semi-autonomous administrative units:

I have envisioned a future structure in Jerusalem under which the city would be governed through a network of boroughs. Each borough would have a great deal of autonomy over its own municipal services and its lifestyle. . . the people of various neighbourhoods can feel some increasing control over their own lives and the decision-making process. (Kollek in Kraemer, ed. 1980; 9).

It is not only a plan for the decentralisation of Jerusalem's local government, but also an important component in Israeli proposals for the solution of the Jerusalem problem on the international level.

Critics of that approach acknowledge that segregation may decrease inter-communal tension in the short run. However, it could increase polarisation in the long run because the "mosaic" theory is "a mask devised to hide discriminatory policies [towards the Arabs] in resource allocation for infrastructure, housing and welfare services" (Benvenisti, 1981; 32).

"The Arabs of East Jerusalem would like their part of the city to revert to Arab sovereignty and this can't come about if the area is cut off from Arab territory by new Jewish suburbs... Mount Scopus (was secured) by creating a land bridge to the area so that it could never be cut off again."

— Teddy Kollek

The "mosaic of homogeneous neighbourhoods" has been considered by the Israelis as the optimal pattern to achieve peaceful co-existence in the city. They maintain that spatial segregation contributes to decreasing tension, to the preservation of the identity of the different groups and to assuring their physical and psychological security. The mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, is one of the chief advocates of separation. He states:

We don't have integrated Arab-Jewish neighbourhoods. But there is no segregation between Jews and Arabs in the law. There is nothing to prevent an Arab from buying or renting an apartment in an otherwise Jewish building or vice versa. It just does not work out that way. If an Arab has children, he will want to send them to an Arab neighbourhood school, and he and his wife will want to be near their friends, their mosque, the markets, the very smells and sounds they know. The same is true not only for Jews, but for the Armenians and all other sects and ethnic groups as well. . . the city was a mosaic, a multicultural society, never a melting pot. Everyone belongs to one community or another, with its separate language and tradition. That is part of Jerusalem's traditional character and all the new housing will undoubtedly not change it. (Kollek, 1978; 231).

This liberal-social pluralistic approach emphasises the voluntary aspects of segregation but it carries it also to the political realm. Ethnically homogeneous

Densely packed, crowded Arab dwellings in the Old City. Critics of the "mosaic theory" see it as a measure to camouflage discriminatory policies towards Arabs in resource allocation for infrastructure, housing and welfare services.

The "Borough Plan" is criticised because it is based on the premise that the conflict in Jerusalem is a local, micro-ethnic issue. The Arabs flatly reject it, stating that they are prepared to discuss municipal administration only after an agreement on the political future of Jerusalem is reached.

The Israeli administration does not see any contradiction between the benign, peaceful-coexistence oriented, segregation policies and the aggressive scramble for "strategic space." On the contrary, the construction of new, exclusively Jewish housing developments is viewed as an expansion of the "mosaic" principle.

The major planning decisions that molded Jerusalem's physical shape for many generations were not taken on the drawing board, but around the table of the Israeli cabinet. The decision-makers were guided by the well-practised Zionist principle that physical control of space would decide Israel's borders.

Many planning decisions were taken as a reaction to external political pressure. In December 1969, Israel reacted to the "Rogers Plan" by expropriating 12,000 dunums in strategic areas. On these locations, four vast housing projects were built, upsetting the existing "Development and Dispersal Plan" of the city (Benvenisti, 1976; 243). In March 1980, the United Nations Security Council called upon Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab lands "including Jerusalem." The Israeli cabinet decided in reaction to expropriate 4000 dunums of land on which the construction of a huge new housing project began in 1982.

Israeli planners have generally accepted the political imperatives. Some of them tried to argue against harmful political-planning decisions, but in vain. In 1970, the government decided to build a huge housing development in Ramot, northwest of the city. The planners argued against its location because it would break Jerusalem's "stop line," resulting in an urban sprawl and demanding an enormous new road network. Their objections were overruled. Accepting the verdict, they "incorporated the area into the Jerusalem Master Plan."

In 1977, a new "outline scheme" was completed. One of its design principles was that "Jerusalem is a city compacted together, situated on a hill-top. . . The preservation of its character requires also the preservation of that basic character" (Jerusalem Outline Scheme, 1977, p.1). An area north of the city has been designated as a "landscaping zone," because it is characteristic of the "Judean wilderness threshold, an inspiring pastoral atmosphere that has not changed since biblical times." All measures should be taken "to prevent a massive construction sprawl into the area" (p. 13).

In 1980, the government decided to build a large Jewish housing project on that area. This time the planners not only accepted the political decision and sacrificed the "pastoral landscape," they also changed the definition of the "basic character" of Jerusalem and argued that Jerusalem should be a "compacted city with urban continuity along the north-south and western road axes," stretching for miles north and west of its historic "hill top" (Planning Directives, North Jerusalem, 18.11.80; 13). "One of the objectives in planning the new Jewish neighbourhoods," states the plan, "is to allow proper interaction between the two populations. . . (Arab neighbouring area) by creating separate service systems with a tendency to integrate at the higher hierarchy level" (p.15).

Israeli planners aparently do not view segregated development and a polarised community and its land-use implications as a gloomy prospect — they plan their city that way.

Mass destruction of homes threatens to destroy Beit Lahiya, one of the smallest and most beautiful villages in the Gaza Strip. **Ola L. Andresen**, who reports from the occupied territories for Scandinavian newspapers, was in the village recently. Here are his impressions.

Broken Idyll in the Gaza Strip

A marble plinth — torn by rain and wind into the dignity that characterises the bearing of centuries — sits in a Beit Lahiya garden as a base for a crescent and a five-pointed star. It sits there not only as a decoration and monument, but in silent testimony to historic human and cultural roots.

Beit Lahiya is a small dot on a map of the Gaza Strip. It's a village of 20,000, according to its own inhabitants, their houses scattered in open country, beautified with orange groves as far as the eye can see. The crowded lanes of nearby Jabaliya camp and village seem to belong to another world, and the songs of birds taking refuge in the shades of the orchards give a fake picture of peace and harmony.

In an area the shape of a rectangle, however, every house is numbered, which means the days of these houses, 75 in all, are numbered. In fact, only 72 are left now. The stone blocks that once made up the walls of three homes have been scattered on the ground for several months. Of course, good blocks are not wasted. Many a breadwinner in Beit Lahiya is an experienced construction worker. While it takes a bulldozer to raze a house to the ground, only a pair of good hands is needed to raise one. So the blocks on the ground are those which were broken when the bulldozer did its work.

The story is all too familiar. The Gaza Strip was conquered in 1967. 'This is state land,' say the authorities. 'This is our land,' say the villagers — the villagers have good hands; the authorities have bulldozers.

A van passes on its way out of the village. It's loaded with flat boxes bearing the legend: Carmel Class I Fresh Strawberries, Agrexco LTD, POB 7163, Tel Aviv. 'For export,' explains the local driver. So, there, driving away, is visible evidence that the authorities are right to claim they create jobs and opportunities.

Beit Lahiya children play in the rubble that once was a family home. Above right, new houses but reminders of an ancient settlement./AO photo

The small print on the strawberry boxes reads: Produce of Israel. The boxes? Or the strawberries? But why mix in complex national and political matters: why not only take their strawberries? Why take their houses?

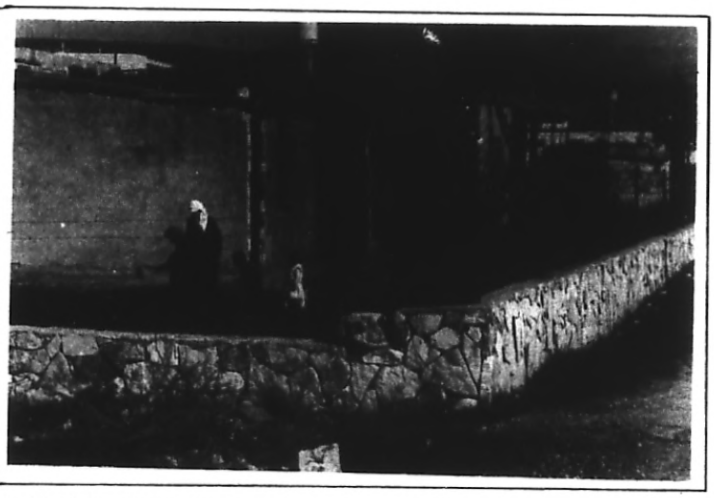
Some kids play in the rubble that once was their family home. Seeing a camera pointed at them, they brag victory signs with their fingers up in the air. Another kid, maybe 10, 11-years-old, makes it clear that his parents' house shall only be destroyed over his dead body.

The kids of Beit Lahiya should have enough other concerns. The village contains but one school. There's no law against squeezing more than 3000 pupils together. Also, in Beit Lahiya, as is the case with the rest of the Strip, children are normally taught about work from a very early age. There are some laws against that, but they may not be too often implemented. Also, the victims might be the first to protest if their working power was to be limited. Probably, they would be more appreciative of an effective law against the pulling-down of their homes.

A. Yunis (the pseudonym of a foreign correspondent based here) was recently in the Golan Heights reviewing the situation there almost two years after the Syrian residents' struggle against Israel's annexation policy. He found them unbowed, and still facing the same problems they had before Israeli law was extended to the occupied Syrian territory.

"We Have No Other Place"

The Syrian Druze of the Golan have always been hard-working farmers and gardeners. But today, 80 percent of the workers commute to jobs in Israel or work for Israeli employers in the Golan. Some are still part-time farmers. Others have given up agriculture as their means and ways. There is great concern about the lack of sufficient markets for the world famous Golan apples. But locals quickly add that this is not their main concern.



Golan Druze family farms small vegetable garden. The Golanis are known as hard-working farmers though 80 percent must now commute to Israel for work or are employed by Israeli concerns in the Golan./JS photo

"Our situation is different from that of the West Bank Palestinians. There a man can be in Nablus or Jenin in the morning, and in the evening in Amman or somewhere else. Our life is different. We sleep, work and eat here, yesterday, today and tomorrow. We have no other place, no place to go."

Asked what changes there have been one man replies: "In our minds nothing has changed. But now they leave us alone most of the time. That's also different here from the West Bank. You don't see a lot of soldiers in the streets." Inadequate schools are a main concern. Parents feel their children should simply learn more and that more advanced math and other technical, theoretical and practical subjects be made available. Nor are they satisfied with the way the children are taught history and other humanistic subjects. The lack of normal opportunity to obtain higher education after finishing twelfth grade is regarded as a serious problem. Behind the great emphasis given educational matters, one can easily see more controversial questions in disguise.

The Druze often point to the fact that their numbers are small. In the Golan they can hardly count a population over 16,000. But they stress the fact that they are a part of the Arab nation. One man answered a question on Druze identity: "First of all, we're Arabs and Muslims."

Another person went a step further: "We don't consider ourselves as Druze. Well, my father does, but that's because he prays in a special way." Clearly, full attention is focused on what happens to the Druze communities in Lebanon and in Israel.

The announcements of sympathy or outright support for Walid Jumblatt in Lebanon were very loud and clear.

Another Golani says: "Our sympathy for (Lebanese Druze leader) Walid Jumblatt does not only reflect how important we think he is for the Lebanese Druze but how important we think he is to the Lebanese as a whole."

Another says: "We support Walid Jumblatt because he is also our leader. What is happening in Lebanon makes that country the most important one for us now."

There's indeed a lot of concern among the Golan Druze about the wholesale price of apples, but other concerns are closer at heart.

Naji Ali and 'Art' as Social Service

by Mahmoud Darwish

To write 400 words about Naji Ali is to be him... He is the secret that daily shows itself. But it remains a secret. Alone, he is vulnerable and so he lashes out and explodes.

Nothing else resembles him. But he is like the hearts of millions, as simple and miraculous as a loaf of bread. I could not choose him. But he could choose me. What could I do but gaze at the features of my face in his cheap black ink. He is both tragic and simple like a beautiful day witnessing a massacre.

I praise him every morning. He defines and determines the mood of my morning as if he is the first cup of coffee. He points out the twenty-fourth hour and its significance and directs me towards the tragic compass and the source of the new pain which would stab my heart again. He draws one line... two lines... three lines and offers us the diary of the tragic human figure. Dazzling and splendid is he, that rebellious destitute who hunts skillfully for rare truth, as if he were recreating the victorious moment of sound in its tense slaughtered silence.

Always I ask: who directs him to see this multitude of enemies who attack him from all corners every day and sometimes even from under his skin? It is his sensitive humanity. The unblemished humanity in him is more sensitive than a motionless radar clearly registering a violation or attempted attack. He has great intuition and tragic experience. A magnanimous Palestinian, lacking space, forced to shout, covered with wounds is he. In his silence the camp's transformation exists.

Beware of Naji, the earth is his rotating cross. The entire globe is smaller than Palestine and Palestine is his refugee camp. He does not take the camp to the world but he captures the world in a Palestinian camp. Is the captor able to be liberated with his captives? Naji does not say this. Naji bleeds, destroys, explodes. He is not an avenger but a cynic.

Naji Ali is the code name of Palestine. Palestine was transformed in 1948 to a tent, then to a gun. Naji says more — it is the struggle of the poor to establish their homeland or to liberate it from the oppressors and foreigners. The equation is very clear in his mind: the *fedai* is a poor man and the poor man is the Palestinian and the Palestinian is a rebel against Arab oil sheikhs, dog-like authorities, monopolists, rich defeatist rulers and also against Zionist colonialism and international imperialism.

Naji does not believe that a compromise solution exists — there is no gray colour — white is white whatever its dimensions and black is black. There is an eternal conflict between them, between what is and what should be. He never disregards defeat or evades it, and never takes refuge in destiny and its miracles. He slowly swallows it or fights against it. He mercilessly runs after you to become among the military ranks fighting against defeat.

Fate... do not read Naji if you are looking for a destiny motif in his caricatures or if you want to smile, to giggle or be on vacation from politics and life's concerns.

Naji Ali, chairperson of the Arab Caricaturists Union, is from Acre but now lives in exile. He was a resident in Ain al-Hilweh camp, south Lebanon, until 1982. His caricatures have been published in the PLO magazines *Al Safir, Filastin al-Thawra* and *Nidal al-Sha'ab* and reprinted in many international magazines. A collection of his caricatures was published in 1976.

Palestinian cartoonist Khalil Abu Arafeh from Jerusalem called Naji "a talented and distinguished caricaturist. His style is original — he uses satire to express the most critical themes for the simple human being. He also makes use of Arab folklore, popular tales, sayings and myths to represent the Arab reality."

"They heard you saying 'No'. Admit that you wanted to say 'No Reconciliation.' "

"I intended to say 'There is no god but God'."

"Leave the washing and get up quickly... Send the kids outside. Let them play and scream... Shut the doors and the windows... I want to say 'Down with America.' I am afraid somebody will hear me... Then you'll be a widow."

Read him and remember all your personal worries as well as historic facts. Read him to discover yourself in yourself, to go back to your tent that is the homeland for you and for one hundred million Palestinians, the sons of the great Arab homeland. He sweats enemies. Naji is not a Palestinian by heritage. All the poor according to Naji are Palestinians — all oppressed, suppressed, pulverised, under-privileged are the revolution — all are Palestinians.

He does not complete the memory circle. He is not a preacher of torment because of one experience. He does not bear wounds from one specific incident. He is open to future time, to the sounds of marching ants and the groans of earth. He takes solace in war secrets and in bread relations. He is real, real until his marrow — this is Naji. You do not need to read a newspaper if you read him. His caricatures tell more than newspaper reports. It seems to me that this artist does not care much about art — art does not please him — yet it flows from his fingertips. He, full of people who do not give up, is invaded by anger and rejection. All he owns of creativity is means, he has no objective other than aesthetics. However he does not believe in "art" for its own sake but as a social service. People need wheat but for Naji wheat is an aesthetic.

Four hundred words — the article is finished. How could I give my inadequate testimony to this homeland and this artist who will never meet failure? He walks the right path and goes on in the name of simple people and for their sake he raised his paper and pencil — he is time for everyone.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The Islamic Summit conference, Palestinian-Jordanian relations and the continued detention of Wahid Hamdallah were the major topics dealt with by the local press this week.

The fourth meeting of the leaders of Islamic conferees concluded in Casablanca with a statement offering an Islamic peace initiative and welcoming the return of boycotted Egypt to the conference.

The arrival in Jordan last week of Palestinian leader Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) and the preparation for meetings of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian committee brought talk about a 'new era' of close Palestinian-Jordanian relations, local papers predicted.

Al Fajr also gave prominence to statements of protest regarding the continued arrest of deposed Anabta Mayor Wahid Hamdallah.

Lost Opportunities

We can summarise King Hussein's speech at the opening session of the Jordanian parliament in one sentence: "the need for serious Palestinian-Jordanian cooperation to save the occupied land and its people."

King Hussein emphasised the necessity of joint practical cooperation with the PLO and agreement on a format to save the occupied lands. King Hussein explained what is needed for the coming political battle. This battle is based on:

1. That the PLO and Jordan are more concerned than any other Arab nation with the coming political battle;

2. That the two parties will have to agree among themselves on a clear and practical programme that does not leave any room for doubts or manoeuvrings;

3. That Egypt is a major party to the peace process, as it was in the war;

4. That the majority of the Arab countries support what Jordan and the Palestinians agreed upon; because it has been made clear to everyone that Arab consensus in this situation is almost impossible to achieve;

5. That the Islamic world stands firm behind the PLO and Jordan when they reach a joint working agreement because both parties would need all means of pressure in their coming battle;

6. That all these parties cooperate to guarantee the support of the majority of the third world nations to the just Palestinian Arab cause, including the non-Islamic nations, members of the UN, the non-aligned nations, the Organisation of African Unity and states in Latin America;

7. That the majority of the Arabs move towards the goal of winning the backing and support of the Western European nations for the just Palestinian demands;

8. That the door remains open to the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc if they wanted to support the next Arab political battle;

9. That all the parties pressure the US, the only country in the world that can pressure Israel.

Therefore, it will be impossible to manoeuvre in the next stage because if time is lost it will hurt nothing but the occupied lands and its people. If the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and Jordan fail to agree on a joint programme, we fear the historians will call the Palestinian cause "the lost opportunities."

We hope the two major parties, Jordan and the Palestinians, will make a practical agreement between them to break the stalemate in the Palestinian cause.

AL QUDS
January 17

Another Plan

Reports from Casablanca say that heads of states participating in the fourth Islamic Summit Conference are about to pass an "Islamic Initiative" for peace in the Middle East based on the last Arab peace plan agreed upon during the Fez Summit.

If it was good that the Islamic conference reaffirmed the representative right of the PLO and the need to establish an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, it is also important to consider the subject in its entirety.

The important consideration before passing any peace plan and after it is how much of this plan can be implemented and put into practice. The Fez plan and the proposed Casablanca plan lack any efforts that can move them forward because they are weak Arab and Islamic plans.

Implementing the Fez and Casablanca plans do not come through diplomatic campaigns and attempts to win international sympathy nor by good intentions and attempts to "persuade" the US. It can only be done through total Arab and Islamic efforts in face-to-face confrontation with the US and its allies, threatening to use all resources to punish any party that does not take Arab interests seriously.

This new plan will remain nothing more than a theoretical, ineffective plan. It will not draw any interest or attention until the reality changes. But this reality is rotten and run by corrupt regimes loyal to the US.

AL SHA'AB
January 19

The Islamic Summit and the Palestinians

The fourth Islamic Conference in Casablanca, which concluded its meetings yesterday, was considered an important event. The majority foiled, from the start, attempts by certain pro-imperialist parties to put the imperialist and socialist camps on equal footing. They also foiled attempts of provocation against the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in order to divert the attention of the Islamic nations and the rest of the world away from the Israeli occupation of Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian territories and its desecration of Islamic places with unlimited and unconditional support from the US imperialists.

Also the Islamic Summit resolution regarding the Palestinian cause and the Arab-Israeli conflict has included the following main elements:

— The approval of the Fez Arab Summit peace plan of September 1982.

— Working to change the text of UN Resolution 242 or getting a new Security Council resolution on the national cause of the Palestinian people, including the issue of Palestinian refugees.

— Re-affirming the right of the Palestinian people to end the occupation and to establish its own independent state under the PLO.

— Re-affirming that any international conference on the Middle East has to include all parties in the conflict, particularly the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

— A clear indication in the resolution to the importance of guaranteeing the existence of all nations in this region and their security and sovereignty, including Israel.

These elements in the Islamic Summit plan are in fact a rejection of the Camp David accords and the Reagan plan. They also reconfirm international recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative. This does away with imperialist and Arab reactionary dreams of taking this role away from the PLO and returning the Jordan regime to represent the Palestinians or "take a part" in representing them. It was also very important that Palestine's representative, Yasir Arafat, was elected deputy to the chairman of the next Islamic Summit.

This confirms once again the stupidity of those who believe they can liquidate the Palestinian people's rights and legitimate leadership. This decision encourages the Palestinian people to continue in their struggle to regain their legitimate rights, particularly their right to self-determination, behind their legitimate national representative — the PLO.

AL ITTIHAD
January 19

Political Blindness

In spite of the known fact that the US has always, and still is, taking an anti-Palestinian position, the assassination of Malcolm Kerr, president of the American University in Beirut, Wednesday, while he was getting ready to enter his office in the university, makes us ask the following questions:

— Was it the mere fact that he was an American that led the Islamic *Jihad* organisation to assassinate him because he "represents the American presence in Lebanon?"

If this was the reason, we frankly say that we cannot but consider this act irresponsible and ignorant of the limits of responsibility. We are not saying this in defence of the assassinated president of the American University as much as in defence of awareness in the struggle against the American presence in Lebanon manifested in the presence of the Marines there, rather than eliminating certain individuals just because they are Americans.

We knew Malcolm Kerr, in addition to his academic contributions as president of a university in an Arab country, was also, in spite of the fact that he is an American, a sympathiser with Arab causes, in particular the Palestinian cause, as his writings testify.

And we knew he became president of AUB in July 1982 in spite of the difficulty of the situation there that accompanied the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon and the capital itself, not caring for his own endangered life.

This underscores the extent of irresponsibility of those who killed him. We are living in an era where political blindness has no room because it will not allow us to distinguish between different positions, no matter what they are.

We feel like making this observation particularly since the same organisation kidnapped a Saudi official in Beirut a few days ago. This also makes us wonder if this organisation considers Saudi Arabia responsible for the American presence in Lebanon.

Didn't we say political blindness can lead to confusion and diversion away from the legitimate struggle?

AL FAJR
January 20

Surrender Agreement

The Islamic Conference Organisation (ICO) ended its meeting in Casablanca after the heads of Islamic states discussed the "crucial" issues facing the Islamic world.

One of the most noticeable decisions made at the conference was a decision to reinstate Egypt of "Camp David" as a member of the ICO by a majority vote of 35.

We can only point to two things: one, we realise quite well that Egypt was not the only Arab country to start talks for the humiliating surrender. We are sure that most of the reactionary Arab regimes which met at the conference under the banner of Islam have paved the way for surrender. In the worst cases they admired the way Egypt of Sadat and then Husni Mubarak, took. Now the Palestinian revolution under Yasir Arafat wants to join the reactionary Arab regimes and surrender like Egypt.

We should not be surprised, therefore, to hear Arafat speaking enthusiastically in the conference on Egypt's reinstatement to the ICO.

Two, the Egypt of Camp David has said it will not return to the organisation if there were conditions linked to the decision. This statement served as a blow to the conferees and indicated that none of them is better than Egypt. They all were ready to surrender, including the revolutionary Arafat.

The truth of the fact now is that Egypt is the one refusing to return to Arab ranks. Rather it is the Arabs' duty to return to Egypt. This was the case with Arafat who went to Egypt before that country freed itself from its agreements and in spite of all the old positions and statements he had against Camp David.

The next Arab summit, scheduled to meet in Riyadh, will not convene before Egypt's return to the Arab ranks. Actually, before the Arab ranks return to Egypt.

AL MITHAQ
January 21

Elia Quits in Corruption Scandal

Major Shlomo Elia, head of the West Bank 'civil administration,' resigned, January 17, following an investigation into allegations of corruption.

Elia presented his resignation after a short meeting with Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens and following press leaks reporting allegations charged against Elia which included charges of accepting bribes and personal misconduct. Elia will not face trial. He was punished by being called before the Israeli disciplinary officer for a ticking off.

The Jerusalem Post reported, January 18, that the military police are investigating allegations that Elia had a woman soldier transferred to his unit and allowed her to be absent for several weeks, used army property for non-military purposes, had a West Bank Palestinian carry out work on his home and bought vegetables from West Bank residents, all against Israeli standing orders.

Israeli journalist Rafiq Halabi said former head of the Village League Mustafa Dudeen played a role in revealing some of the information about Elia, apparently in revenge for Elia down-playing the role of the Leagues since he became West Bank supremo in January 1983. Halabi told *Al Fajr* that the resident who carried out work in Elia's home had been sent by the boss of the Village League in the Hebron area, Jamil Amleh.

Other Israeli journalists were surprised to see Elia go. "The whole issue was exaggerated and it was a result of a campaign of hysteria," said Yossi Zarel, West Bank correspondent for *Ma'ariv* and a personal friend of Elia's. Zarel said, "There is no doubt that there is a personal account between Elia and those under his command." Zarel was referring to former Ramallah military 'civil' governor Mizied Abbass, who reportedly has a grudge against Elia. Abbass, a Druze, alleged that Elia and others in the army discriminate against Druze in matters of appointments and promotions. Abbass resigned late last year.

Zvi Barel, West Bank correspondent of *HaAretz*, said that Elia's misdemeanors are also committed by most officers working in the West Bank. Barel commented, "Elia was successful in his job in comparison with the previous Milson and Ben Eliezer eras."

Shlomo Elia was replaced temporarily by his deputy Fredi Zach. Some West Bank experts believe that Binyamin Ben Eliezer, military coordinator of activities in the occupied territories and Elia's immediate superior, will keep Zach on, "because Ben Eliezer doesn't like to have anyone with a strong character in that post," according to one expert.

Others who will be considered by Defence Minister Arens include Zvi Albeleck and Moshe Sharon, the Arab affairs advisor to the coordinator of activities.

Shlomo Elia, a former intelligence officer, was appointed as head of the West Bank's 'civil administration' in January 1983 replacing Hebrew University professor Menachem Milson who resigned in September 1982. Yigal Karmon was the acting head of the 'civil administration' immediately following Milson's resignation and quit when Elia assumed the post.

Shlomo Elia was a much more low-key figure than his predecessors, according to Israeli West Bank experts. One Israeli journalist called him "an obedient servant." Settler terror grew as Shlomo Elia purposely stayed out of the settlers' way. He avoided clashes with them and left decisions regarding them to his superiors, experts say. Elia came to the West Bank with little experience and following a tense period under Milson.

Elia somewhat downplayed the role of the Village Leagues during his tenure and failed in attempts to find Palestinians to replace the elected mayors ousted by his predecessors. During his reign the Hebron deputy mayor Mustafa Natshe was ousted and replaced by an Israeli military officer. The controversy regarding the loyalty oath demanded from foreign lecturers was not completely resolved although a number of compromises were introduced. Higher education was periodically disrupted at Bethlehem and Najah Universities and the perpetrators of a number of crimes against Palestinians, including the indiscriminate shooting at Hebron's Islamic University, were not apprehended.

Suspect Held for Greenzweig Killing

Demonstrator Greenzweig minutes before grenade attack, February 10, 1983.

Amidst a great fanfare of publicity an Israeli has been arrested for, but not charged with, throwing the hand grenade that killed Peace Now demonstrator Emil Greenzweig, last February.

Yona Avrushmi, 28, from Jerusalem was arrested January 14 but his detention was kept secret until a press conference called by Israeli Police and Interior Minister Yosef Burg, January 20. Burg and police representatives said they have enough material evidence — including an oral confession — to convict Avrushmi, an allegation denied by his lawyers.

David Shemtov, 20, was arrested one day earlier by the police team investigating the Greenzweig killing for allegedly supplying Avrushmi with the Israeli army grenade used in the attack.

Questions are being raised about police and politicians' handling of publicity in the case. According to Israel Radio, January 23, Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir advised Burg against announcing the detention at a press conference. Ya'acov Afroni, Avrushmi's lawyer, went to the High Court, January 23, demanding access to his client. Former Supreme Court Judge Haim Cohen raised questions about the legality of the publicity surrounding the case. Police spokespersons point out that as Avrushmi has not been charged *sub judice* rules do not apply.

Avrushmi, like most captured political killers in Israel, has been described as a "loner" and "deeply disturbed." Police said they took information from a seminar on the psychology of political extremism to build up a profile of the man they wanted and fed 180,000 names into a computer to come up with a match. They said they finally caught Avrushmi through Shemtov.

The police said that during their investigations they uncovered 46 other crimes and found that 4000 Israeli army grenades and "countless other weapons taken as booty in Lebanon" are avaliable for sale in the underworld.

Police say it is up to the Shin Bet to determine if Avrushmi has links with Israeli terror groups responsible for attacks on the West Bank mayors in 1980, the murder of three Hebron University students in 1983 and 14 recent bombings of non-Jewish targets in East Jerusalem and the occupied territories. An anonymous caller phoned the Israeli army radio station, January 22, saying Avrushmi was a member of 'Terror Against Terror,' according to Israeli television.

No date was set for Avrushmi's first court appearance.

Emil Greenzweig died and 10 people, including Burg's son, were wounded, February 10, 1983, when a hand grenade was thrown into a Peace Now demonstration calling for then-Defence Minister Ariel Sharon to resign. Demonstrators were physically attacked and spat on by gangs of right wingers before the grenade was thrown.

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LNSF Resists

defined as a lobbyist for the most reactionary Arab circles thesis. In 1978, he co-authored a Rand Corporation study commissioned by the Carter administration Pentagon, in which Israel's promotion to the rank of a policeman charged with the "security" of the Gulf area and the Hashemite monarchy of Jordan was recommended, among other things. The study, entitled *Inter-Arab Conflict Contingencies and the Gap Between Arab Rich and Poor*, further suggested that the success of a similar assignment to Israel would depend on its utter secrecy, unless some minimal formula for the solution of the Palestinian issue (such as, in other words, to take the wind out of Palestinian nationalism) could be realised. Generally speaking, this memorandum seems to have constituted a blueprint, an unconfessed one, surely, for US conduct in the Middle East, under both the Carter and Reagan administrations. Since his nomination as AUB President, Kerr has, moreover, made efforts to depoliticise the climate at the university, prohibiting student demonstrations and meetings regarding the political situation in Lebanon. He was definitely a supporter of the Gemayel regime. On January 3, a student meeting on the campus called to express solidarity with the struggle of liberation underway in the south was besieged by troops called into the university. Kerr, therefore, could hardly be described as a person sympathetic to or attracting the sympathy of Lebanese or Palestinian patriotic and progressive circles. However, this, precisely, made of him a prime subject for those elements whose goal is to incite at all costs for American intervention and to this end to blow up, up to the dimensions used in the past to demonise the Palestinians, the myth of 'Shi'ite terrorism'.

Both operations have been attributed by the Lebanese authorities and the media to Hussein Mussawi's *Amal Islami* — a tiny breakaway faction of Amal allegedly based in Ba'albeck. It is extraordinary, however, that the potent media campaigners who daily attempt to create a confusion in the public mind between Amal's mass movement and its decisive contribution to the popular resistance in South Lebanon as well as in the southern suburbs of Beirut, and more in general to demonise the major Shi'ite community, keep silent about Mussawi's past as a long-time high-ranking agent of the Phalangist-directed and Israeli- and French-allied Lebanese Deuxieme Bureau, a fact universally known and recognised in Lebanon. A fact which may also explain why, as some scrupulous reporters have noted, Kerr's armed killers could enter AUB with their pistols, complete with silencers, despite the extremely severe searches carried out on all those who enter the campus.

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HALLUSIYEH

immediate mobilisation of the populations in the south as well as in west Beirut. Shi'ite Amal leader Nabih Berri called for an immediate intervention of the United Nations "to put an end to the violent practices of the Israeli occupation and impose respect for the UN's own presence in the area."

The Haifa-based Communist Party organ *Al Ittihad* (January 24, 1984) adds:

Large numbers of Israeli troops arrived in the village of Hallusiyeh, Monday morning, with Sheikh Abbas Harb and tried to force him to calm the angry residents. Contrary to the Israeli demand, Sheikh Harb used the loud speaker to call on residents to escalate their protest and confront the Israeli occupation. Residents poured into the streets shouting anti-Israeli chants. Israeli troops responded by firing scores of tear gas canisters into the middle of the crowds. Eyewitnesses also said that soldiers beat up the *imam* before the crowd until he was bleeding. He was then carried away to an unknown place.

The Voice of Arab Lebanon radio station reported that Ali Yunis, a 14-year old resident of Hallusiyeh, opened fire on the occupation soldiers from an automatic gun, killing or wounding at least five soldiers. Israeli troops shot back and killed the youth instantly.

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UNRWA CLOSURES

exceed "the limits of good behaviour and oppose administrative decisions of the agency."

The student councils of both centres issued, January 19, a statement reaffirming their objection to the comprehensive exam. The student council statement stressed that the imposition of the comprehensive exam on West Bank vocational centres "serves political objectives." UNRWA met student council representatives, January 16, and then sent letters to the parents and guardians of trainees notifying them that the agency cannot and does not run an independent education system and has to follow the curriculum laid down by the Jordanian Ministry of Education.

The UNRWA student councils' statement said the coordination between UNRWA and the Jordanian Ministry of Education in imposing the comprehensive exam "aims to empty the West Bank of its national essence" and that "UNRWA must be independent."

In 1981, the Jordanian Ministry of Education classified vocational centres as community colleges in which upon completion of college graduation requirements trainees must sit for a comprehensive examination. In 1982 the exam was frozen in the West Bank following student objections but reimposed last year.

Students and national leaders have opposed the comprehensive exam because it gives more control to the Israeli officer of education who will supervise it and issue certificates to West Bank college trainees.

Students note that dozens of *tawjihi* (matriculation examination) students were arrested last June and were prevented from taking that exam. The students, who were not charged, were released after the exams were over. They will have to wait a year to take the exam again. Students fear a similar system will be introduced concerning the comprehensive exam.

Student committees at three UNRWA vocational centres and Fawar and Balata refugee camp youth committees published ads, January 22, in local newspapers protesting "UNRWA's arbitrary acts in closing RWTTC and RMTTC."

The ads accused UNRWA of "participating in plots to empty the academic institutes of their academic and national implications."

WEEKLY REVIEW

January 15, 1984

SCHOOL VANDALISED

TULKARM — Unknown vandals broke into a girls school in Tulkarm and damaged property.

January 16, 1984

POLYTECHNIC STUDENTS STRIKE

HEBRON — Students of the Hebron Polytechnic struck in protest against the imposition of the comprehensive exam. The students said they are determined to continue opposing the exams until they are cancelled.

TIBERIAS ARSONIST CAUGHT

NAZARETH — An Israeli resident of the Sea of Galilee town of Tiberias was charged in a Nazareth court with setting fire to a Christian-owned hotel in the town.

PRISONERS MISTREATED

NAZARETH — Women prisoners at Neve Tertza jail complained to lawyer Walid Fahoum of new restrictions.

They told Fahoum that the prison authorities refuse to let them receive or send mail, limit visits to once a month, do not allow them to receive books, newspapers or magazines and bar them from listening to the radio. They said this has been going on since the strike the prisoners declared went into effect May 10, 1983.

FLOOD IN GAZA

GAZA — Heavy rains flooded the lower areas of the city forcing people to abandon their homes and take refuge on higher ground. Several homes in Mahalat al-Zietoun were reported flooded.

BIR ZEIT STUDENT ELECTIONS

The Student Youth Movement at Bir Zeit University won 35 seats on the student council.

January 17, 1984

STUDENTS REJECT PERMIT

WEST BANK — Students at Najah University, Nablus, reiterated their rejection, during a meeting on campus, of the Israeli work permit foreign instructors have to sign.

FINED FOR POSSESSING PALESTINE MAP

HEBRON — An *imam* in Arroub camp, near Hebron, was fined IS25,000 for possessing a map of Palestine.

HOME DEMOLISHED

JERUSALEM — The home of Fawzi Kiswani, in the Jerusalem suburb of Ras al-Amud, was demolished by the Israeli military on the pretext Kiswani does not have a building permit.

ISSAM SARTAWI FUND

TEL AVIV — Israeli Reserve General Matityahu Peled, head of the Israeli Council for Palestinian-Israeli Peace, said at a press conference that a special fund was established in the name of Issam Sartawi, special advisor to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, assassinated in Portugal last year. The fund will give awards to researchers on the Palestinian cause and Palestinian-Israeli talks.

TEACHERS RESTRICTED

RAMALLAH — Ramallah teachers received notices from the education department ordering them not to leave their school's premises during school hours or appear at any other school other than theirs during those hours.

COMMUNICATION COSTS UP

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Knesset Economics Committee approved an increase of between 18-50 percent in postal and communication costs.

January 18, 1984

BOOKS SENTENCE

DHEISHEH CAMP — Khalid Mohammed Shakir from Dheisheh refugee camp was sentenced by the military court in Hebron to pay IS1500 or serve five days in jail on charges of possessing banned books.

ZIONISTS OPPOSE FUND

The Zionist Council of Settlements in the West Bank demanded that a special fund named after assassinated Palestinian leader Issam Sartawi be considered illegal. The fund was created in Israel by peace activist and former general Matti Peled.

BOMB IN JAFFA

A hand grenade was thrown at the house of Abed Kaboub, director of the board of the Islamic *waqf* in Jaffa. The roof of the house was damaged.

RAWDA STUDENTS HIT CLOSURE

NABLUS — Students at al-Rawda College in Nablus complained about the continued closure of their school. The college was closed by the military last week.

ARMENIANS CELEBRATE CHRISTMAS

BETHLEHEM — The Armenian community celebrated Christmas. Several people attended the celebrations in Bethlehem.

HOSPITAL CLOSURE PROTEST

JERUSALEM — In a statement local institutions protested the decision by the Israeli health department to close the surgery wing of the Hospice Hospital in the Old City reducing the number of its beds, as well as the plan to give the third floor of the hospital to the Austrian Church.

POLICE BRUTALITY

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli police officers raided and searched the home of Nabil Saleh, secretary of the Arab Students Committee at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

TEL AVIV — Hundreds of Arab and Israeli students, members of the Campus movement at Tel Aviv University, held a demonstration yesterday in protest against increasing discrimination in Israel and the arrest of Arab student Abd al-Halim Taha.

BORDER GUARD PATROL ATTACKED

TEL AVIV — The Israeli *Davar* newspaper said two petrol bombs were thrown at an Israeli border patrol in Jericho.

Eastern Orthodox Christians celebrate Epiphany, January 19, marking the visit of the three Magi and the baptism of Christ, by "blessing the waters." Here a delegation of Orthodox churches, led by the Greeks, gather at the site of Jesus' baptism on the Jordan River, marked by St. John's Monastery. Since 1967 the site has been off limits for "security reasons" until the military relented two years ago. Now there is a campaign on to get the monastery open as well. /Garo photo

January 19, 1984

SIX YOUTHS SENTENCED

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced six youths from Aida refugee camp, near Bethlehem, to jail terms of between five and nine years on charges of throwing petrol bombs at Israeli vehicles.

LAND GRAB

RAMALLAH — Villagers from Abouin, near Ramallah, appealed the seizure of 1300 dunums of their land to the Israeli Military Objections Committee.

COUNSELLING CENTRE OPENS

JERUSALEM — A Palestinian Counselling Centre was inaugurated in Wadi Joz by counselling experts and representatives of charitable organisations in the city. The centre which will provide family and personal counselling is headed by Fadil Tawil.

COLLEGE STUDENTS STRIKE

RAMALLAH — Students at the Teachers Institute and Tireh College held a sit-in at their colleges in protest against measures by their administrations to reduce food, water and electricity.

AMERICANS URGE ABU AIN'S RELEASE

JERUSALEM — A number of American personalities including lawyers and academics forwarded a letter protesting the continued detention by the Israeli military of Ziad Abu Ain who was included on the list of prisoners to be released in the November 1983 PLO-Israel POW exchange.

HOUSE DEMOLISHED

HAIFA — An Israeli military force demolished yesterday the house of Adnan Ghmiedat, near Haifa, under the pretext it was built without a license.

UNRWA shut the Teachers College in Ramallah and Tireh College (above) for one week, January 20. The measure follows strong student opposition to the comprehensive exams. /SF photo

'GREEN LINE' SETTLEMENT

TEL AVIV — Work started last Thursday on a new religious settlement in the West Bank, one kilometre from the 'green line', near the village of N'aleen.

January 20, 1984

STUDENT TOWN ARRESTED

HEBRON — A university student, Fathi Jradat, from Sa'ir near Hebron, was placed under town arrest for six months. No reason was given for the order.

FARMER FINED

RAMALLAH — A farmer from Jericho was fined IS20,000 or a month in jail by a military court in Ramallah on charges of using more water from his own well to irrigate his farm than is allowed by the military government.

PRIEST STILL IN JAIL

HAIFA — The priest Fawzi Khoury from Fasouta in the Galilee lost an appeal of a court decision which released him after one month's detention and confiscated his passport for four months. Khoury needs his passport to return to France where he is working on his Ph.D.

SCHOLARSHIPS

BETHLEHEM — Bethlehem University Student Council gave JD2000 in scholarships to needy students.

Construction work underway this week on Bethlehem University's multi-purpose building. Construction of the building, which is to house an auditorium, meeting rooms, student offices and a cafeteria, was delayed by Israeli military authorities for two years by denying the university a building permit. The permit was finally granted last October/ ST photo

January 21, 1984

UNION ATTACKS JORDAN

BIR ZEIT — The Union of Bir Zeit University Employees issued a statement denouncing the latest Jordanian political moves. The statement said the Jordanian moves were an attempt to exploit differences within the PLO so that it will take the PLO's representative status away from the Palestinian organisation.

TEACHER DISMISSED

HEBRON — The Israeli military education officer ordered the dismissal of teacher Hassan Isma'il Ahmad as of last December 22 after he was sentenced by a military court to three months in prison and nine months suspended on political charges.

ANTI–JORDAN SEMINAR

BIR ZEIT — The student council's cultural committee at Bir Zeit University held a seminar on political developments in the region. Those who spoke at the event denounced recent Jordanian moves to institute its parliament as an attempt to replace the PLO in representing the Palestinian people.

TOWN ARRESTEE

SHAFA 'AMR — Shafa 'Amr resident Ibrahim Nahfawi was arrested on charges of not appearing at the local police station two months ago. Nahfawi is under town arrest and must appear at the police station three times a day.

NAJAH PROTEST

NABLUS — Classes at Najah were suspended as students held a morning rally demanding that the administration rescind measures against 12 students. Four of the students are members of the student council.

TWO ARRESTED FOR JAFFA ATTACK

TEL AVIV — Two Jaffa youths were arrested on charges of throwing a hand grenade at the house of Abed Kaboub, head of the Islamic Committee in Jaffa, Israel Radio said.

NO ISRAELIS AT BOOK FAIR

CAIRO — Egypt barred Israel from participating in the International Book Exhibition scheduled to open in Cairo.

January 22, 1984

PRC IN AMMAN?

AMMAN — Sabri Jiryis, director of the Palestine Research Centre formerly in Beirut, held talks in Amman on establishing the centre's headquarters in Jordan.

NO TO COMPREHENSIVES

HEBRON — Polytechnic students in Hebron met to discuss implications of the comprehensive exams. The president of the student council said there is strong student opposition to the Jordanian-issued exam. He added that students at West Bank two-year institutes and colleges will work together to block the exams.

BUS BURNT

HEBRON — A bus owned by a Hebron bus company was set on fire as it stood in front of the owner's house in Surif.

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Nablus Electricity

fact, the Nablus resident actually subsidises all electricity generated by the company," he said. The Nablus engineer explained that under Shaka'a the cost of lighting city streets and public buildings and electricity to generate the water pumps was absorbed by the municipality which passed part of it on to residents and carried the major part itself.

Spare Parts

As in all major projects that operate 24 hours a day, constant maintenance is an important aspect for successful operation. But the Nablus electricity company's maintenance crew, while meticulous workers, are frustrated by routine breakdowns. A major problem facing them is the lack of spare parts.

During the administration of Bassam Shaka'a, company engineers were able to get spare parts within seven-10 days by air freight from a spare parts company in West Germany. But the situation is much different now. One engineer explained that in the past two years only one shipment of spare parts has been received. "And even those parts had been under order when Shaka'a was still in office." This shipment was only received after pressure from the freight company in Haifa on the Israeli mayor about the shipment lying in the depot.

Since then, every order of spare parts requested by the Palestinian engineers has been ignored by the municipality, engineers charge. "That is why we are extremely anxious when we carry out maintenance checks. We are afraid to open a generator, discover a part is needed and lose the use of the generator," explained head engineer Dirhali.

Instead, engineers carry out makeshift operations over-extending the maintenance schedule and often borrowing parts from one generator to keep another running. The result: more electricity failures even with the new generators which have not received proper maintenance checks, leaving Nablus in the dark.

Electricity company engineers claim that in the long-run the Israeli officials want to force residents to request Israeli electricity out of economic desperation. Although company engineers are trying all they can to protect the national company from collapse, they concede that they can't hold on much longer. "When you have a foreigner as mayor, he doesn't care whether the electricity fails or not. He does not have the sensitivity of a local resident," complained one employee of the electricity company.

Nablus residents and leaders are genuinely worried that unless concrete steps are taken to correct the deteriorating situation, the city's US$13 million project might close down.

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Behind the Walls

of the Jerusalem-based al-Hakawati theatre group, it was the first time he was involved in a film production. Although the theatre actor found it hard to cope with the long waits between cuts he sounded optimistic about the film's prospects. "I think the film will do well, because it tackles genuine problems affecting people in this part of the world," he said. Filmmakers are hoping to show it at the Cannes Film Festival this spring.

The presence of Arab actors was essential to the film's development. Muallem said that in several scenes Palestinian actors were able to convince the film director to inject realistic changes. The film director wanted to end the film, for example, with the administration bringing Issam's wife from Amman in an attempt to break him emotionally and thereby end the strike. But Palestinian actors succeeded in changing the scene so that Issam holds up and tells his wife to go back to Amman.

Palestinian actors also introduced songs from Egyptian singer Sheikh Imam and jokes in order to show a different side of prison life. "We wanted to show that we are human beings who have a complete life and are not just heroes and martyrs," said one Palestinian actor.

After years of occupation and repression, Israeli filmmakers and audiences seem to be opening up to new horizons. *Behind the Walls* carries promise with it, but is it the beginning of a new era where the area's major problems are no longer ignored or will Israeli filmmakers return to comedies?

***Behind the Walls* director Uri Barbach with Mohammed Bakri. After years of churning out comedies, Israeli filmmakers are starting to deal with political subjects.**

Costa Gavras' **Hanna K:** Raising Unanswerable Questions

by Hanna Assadi

Costa-Gavras has done it again. His latest film *Hanna K.* knocks spots off any feature film this reviewer has seen dealing with the Middle East and adds a new dimension to the idea of politics in film.

In a new departure for prize-winning Greek-born director Costa-Gavras, *Hanna K.* is a completely fictional story. The central character, Salim, is a Palestinian with a mission. Not a dramatic one, nor even particularly unique — he wants to return to the house he was born in. To this end he tries letters to various Israeli ministries, approaches diplomatic missions abroad, tries to sneak home on a fake passport in a Jewish charter group and eventually at the film's opening infiltrates the country on the heels of a guerrilla band. Here he meets Hanna Kaufmann, court appointed attorney on her first case. Assigned to defend him she manages to get him deported rather than jailed as the prosecutor wants and promptly falls in love with her legal adversary.

End of story. Well it would be, but Salim is a determined man. He returns — again illegally —. and calls in Hanna to his jail. By now she is pregnant, pissed off with her prosecutor lover and contemplating returning to France with a husband who has arrived to claim her, reacting with 'civilised' disgust to everything he sees.

Unfortunately for true love and a happy ending, Hanna asks herself, and eventually the world, why this not-so-young man should not return. And, as this is the question to which the state of Israel has no answer, turmoil breaks out around her. To wriggle out from under the weight of an international press which also wants to know why, the judges, prosecution, her boss and a state representative reach a compromise. To whit, Salim gets eight months for entering the country illegally (he has no passport of any kind); meanwhile arrangements will be made for him to acquire citizenship (in South Africa — "he's fairly light-skinned") and armed with a legal passport he'll be permitted to immigrate legally and the state will even give him his house back.

End of story. Well it would be, but Salim is also a sensitive man. Jail pressure is too much for him and he starts a hunger strike. Not willing to have a corpse on his hands the prison governor presses Hanna to apply for Salim's parole and she is lumbered with a lodger in the garage — no one else is available to take the Palestinian in. This naturally leads to complications. The prosecutor-ex-(and very jealous) boyfriend-and father of her child doesn't like the idea of a man he considers a terrorist playing the role of handy baby-sitter. Convinced Salim's natural desire to live in the land of his birth is merely a front for nefarious and violent schemes he sets Hanna to spy on him, a plan which leads her to discover his life. Salim moves upstairs and 'Mr District Attorney' calls in the husband to try and set up a legal child-grab. The final showdown comes when a bomb goes off in the settlement which now covers Salim's home village — the prosecutor, convinced Salim planted it, calls in the army to pick him up; Salim skips, convinced he'll not get justice and promising to "see you again"; Hanna kicks out the prosecutor and asks husband to leave convinced she can make it on her own now.

The question 'why not' will follow the cinema-goer home to reappear when the news carries the latest in Israeli attempts to hold those asking it at bay.

The film ends with her amazed — opening the door to a porch packed with every form of Israeli police, military and para-military life all armed to the teeth.

End of story. Well it would be if the state of Israel could come up with something that would provide all the Salims with an explanation as to why they can't return home. And as they cannot, as least not one which recognises the humanity, history and rights of the Palestinians, Costa-Gavras' movie will remain a sharp and painful thorn in the side of all those who try to convince themselves and the rest of the world that colonialism can coexist with Western democracy and justice in the Middle East.

This film is not didactic. The uninformed will learn little of Palestinian history or even geography; the exact location of Salim's village is never made clear. Even Israelis would admit that the image in the film of their military, court system and prisons service is too rosy to truely measure up against reality. There is no sloganeering. Salim sits serenely through the havoc and drama that surrounds him — he wants to go home, not to score political points nor to overinvolve himself in nitpicking with the bureaucracy designed to prevent that simple aim.

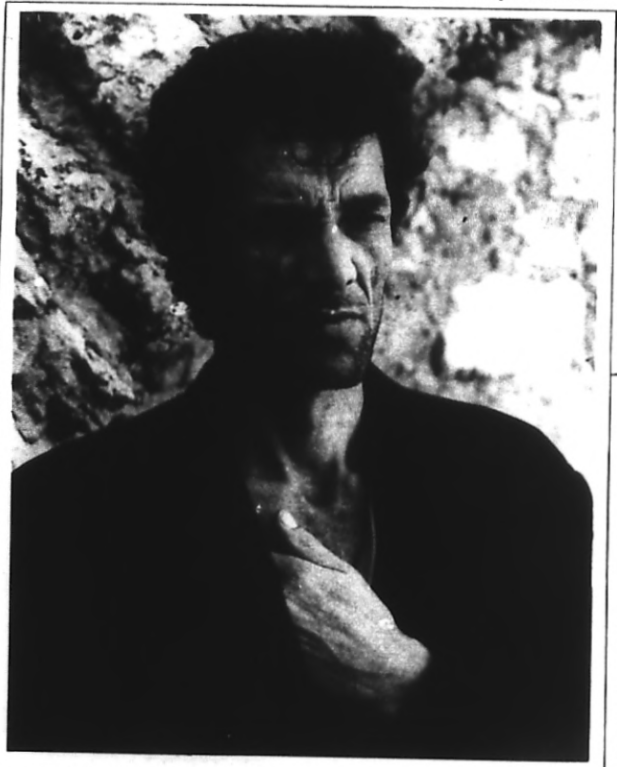
Yet the question 'why not?' wends through the film, hovers over every scene and will follow the cinema-goer home to reappear whenever the news carries the latest developments in Israel's and its allies' attempts to hold those asking it at bay. That one little question gives *Hanna K.* immense power.

The film is well executed and the acting competent, not brilliant. Galilean Mohammed Bakri does well as the undemonstrative Salim; Jill Clayburgh turns in a good performance in the title role; Gabriel Byrne is not so good as 'Mr District Attorney', a little too one-dimensional; Jean Yanne as Hanna's womanising husband gets a lot of good lines which he uses well and clearly relishes his small role. Jerusalem turns in a good performance as itself.

The script, however, is masterful building as it does characters and the political theme simultaneously and in harmony. There are also some poignant and some funny lines with a kick. My favourite concerns the Hebrew word we all know and love — *Shalom*. "It means peace," explains Hanna to husband at a military roadblock. "They use it all the time."

Hanna K. was a pleasure to watch and it gets better with contemplation. Search it out, *Al Fajr* readers, you'll love it. Round up the family, neighbours and all those people to whom you've tried to explain the Palestinian question and take them along. They'll thank you for it.

End of story? Well, why not?



Palestinian film star Mohammed Bakri plays lead roles in two films which, in his words, explain "who we are and what our rights are." Here pictured in a scene from *Behind the Walls*, he also stars in *Hanna K.*

Behind the Walls: An Israeli Film with Promise

by Daoud Kuttab

An interesting and promising change is slowly taking place in Israeli film circles. After decades of completely ignoring political problems in Israel, filmmakers are starting to turn cameras to subjects like the national aspirations of the Palestinian people and the effects of the struggle on the relationship between Arabs and Israelis.

An Israeli film company 'April' has just completed filming *Behind the Walls*, a film set in an Israeli jail that talks boldly about life in prison and relationships between Israeli and Palestinian prisoners and the prison administration.

The Story

Behind the Walls is directed by Uri Barbach, a Peace Now activist who hired both Palestinian and Israeli actors. Decor and sets were designed by Bashir Abu Rabi'a. The film, which still has to be screened for Israeli censors, is about the build-up to a prison demonstration in which political and criminal prisoners unite in a protest hunger strike culminating in its violent suppression.

Except for *Khamsin*, a film exposing deep problems between an Israeli *moshav* and a nearby Palestinian village, there has been no Israeli film that has dealt directly with major issues facing Israelis and Palestinians.

The director and producer of this film refuse to speak to journalists. A member of the cast explained reasons behind the filmmakers' apprehension: "First, from a professional basis, those running the film want to avoid any leaks about the movie before it is officially shown. Secondly, the film producers receive one-third of the cast of the film from the Israeli government." The source said that all the government financiers know is that the story takes place in a prison.

Palestinian Actors

Palestinian members of the cast were allowed to speak to *Al Fajr* about their personal roles. Mohammed Bakri, who plays one of the leads, welcomed the film: "The film speaks in a direct way about Palestinians in Israeli jails." Bakri, who played a lead role in Costa-Gavras' recent effort *Hanna K.*, said that *Behind to Walls* doesn't have any of the "gimmicks" of Gavras' movie, in which he played a jailed Palestinian freedom fighter.

Bakri, a Palestinian actor from Bina' in the Galilee, has never been imprisoned himself nor was he allowed to join the Israeli film crew in their visit to an Israeli jail. Nevertheless he said that he has been able to get background for his role as Issam, the Palestinian prisoners' leader, from talks with friends who have been behind bars.

Although Bakri complained that he is worried about being typecast as a political prisoner he said he was happy to explain to the world through his role "who we are and what our rights are."

Bakri said that film-goers, especially in Israel, are eager to hear and see movies dealing with contemporary political questions.

Hussein Saleh, 57, a Jaffa resident, joined the cast of *Behind the Walls* after a member of the Israeli Communist Party recommended him. The gray-haired steelworker told *Al Fajr* that he "wished for a long time that films of this sort would be produced."

For Edward Muallem, a member

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